MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

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A Systematic Study Including
Source Material

PART II

By

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this book was published in 1934. Though copies of it have not been in the market for more than an year now, I regret I could not meet the need earlier owing to other preoccupations. In the present edition references to other literature on various topics dealt with in the book have been brought up to date and improvements short of rewriting the text have been effected. It is therefore hoped that readers will find in this an even more helpful guide to the study of Moghul history than in its predecessor. Since literature on the subject is already very vast, as well as fast growing, it may not be out of place to mention here the salient features of the present work. I cannot do this better than by summarising the observations of some of those who were kind enough to assess the first edition of this book.

Rev. H. Heras, S. J., while commending it observed, "This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine historical method." Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai found "The principal merit" of the work in "the skilful piecing together of all available matter and weaving it into a connected account." C. S. S. in the *Journal of Indian History*, wrote, "The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book." While my reviewer in the *Islamic Culture* credited me with having treated my subject with "enlightened sympathy" and with having tapped "practically all the Historical sources available to him in English," I cannot claim to have done anything more.

As the book is the outcome of a real need felt by the author while teaching the subject he has spared no pains to boil down the bewildering mass of material for the benefit of the more earnest students. At the same time care has been taken to represent all points of view on controversial topics, helping the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the words of Sir Oliver Lodge, I have acted on the motto "to know anything thoroughly nothing accessi-

ble must be excluded ; with what result, it is for my impartial critics to judge.

My indebtedness to authors and works cited throughout the book is greater than I can specifically recount in this short Preface. The detailed references in the foot-notes are intended to be guides to deeper study no less than acknowledgments of my sources.

Willingdon College,
November, 1940. S. R. SHARMA

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

References have been further brought up-to-date in this edition.

S. R. S.

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- Murād (d. 1559)
- Dāniyāl (d. 1604)

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY :—I PERSIAN : (i) *Akbar-nāma* of Abu-l Fazl is the chief source of information regarding the birth, education, and early life of Jahāngīr. Its dates are particularly valuable. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VI, pp. 21-102.

(ii) *Takmila-i Akbar-nāma* or Ināyatu-lla is a continuation of the above (1602-05). Extracts in ibid., pp. 103-15.

(iii) *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* of Nizāmu-d-dīn has already been noticed. It supplements Abu-l Fazl up to 1593-4 ; but its dates are to be accepted with caution. Extracts in ibid., vol. V, pp. 247-476.

(iv) *Wikaya-i Azad Beg* or *Hālāt-i Azad Beg* is valuable as the work of a servant of Abu-l Fazl who writes with intimate knowledge. Dowson points out that a note in Persian at the end of the MS. says, 'Towards the close of Jahāngīr's reign he was honoured with the title of *Peshrau Khān.* He died at the commencement of the reign of His Majesty Shāh Jahān, in the year 1041 H. Extract in ibid., vol. VI, pp. 150-74.

(v) *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* or the Memoirs of Jahāngīr (also called *Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī, Tārīkh-i Salīm Shāhī, Ikbāl-nāma, Jahāngīr-nāma,* etc.) is of considerable interest and value as the personal memoirs of the Emperor, mostly written by himself. It deals, however, with only the first eighteen years of his reign. Dowson speaks of it as a very rare work, almost unknown even in India itself. "It is a plain and apparently ingenuous record of all that its author deemed worthy of note....taken as a whole, the work is very interesting, and assuming that Jahāngīr is mainly responsible for its authorship, it proves him to have been a man of no common ability. He records his weaknesses and confesses his faults with candour, and a perusal of this work would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents." Extracts in ibid., pp. 284-391.

(vi) Four other sources may be briefly noticed together : (a) *Tatimma-i Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī* of Muhammad Hadī ; (b) *Iqbāl-nāma-i* J. of Mutamad Khān ; (c) *Ma'asir-i J.* of Kamgar Khān ; and (d) *Intikhab-i J.* of (? Sheikh Abdu-l Wahab). All these are valuable as works written during the Mughal period, and as supplementing other sources. Extracts in ibid., pp. 392-452.

II EUROPEAN : (i) JESUIT.—The *Commentaries* of Fr. Monserrate; and Du Jarric's *Thesaurus* (vol. III, Bk. i, chaps. 16-23). These two deal with Jahāngīr's early life down to end of 1609.

(ii) OTHER EUROPEAN.—(*a*) Purchas' *Pilgrimes* (1625) contains accounts of various travellers (Maclehose, 1905). Of Hawkins' report, Dr. Benī Prasad remarks that it forms a first hand, and, on the whole, thoroughly reliable source of information; but his observations on the administrative system and the condition of the people should be received with caution.

(*b*) Sir Thomas Roe's *Embassy* (Foster, Hakluyt—2 vols. 1899) contains vivid and picturesque descriptions; but, like the above, to be received with care, especially when he writes of things beyond his personal observation.

(*c*) Terry's *Voyage* (Purchas vol. IX, pp. 1-54 of reprint of 1777) is a valuable supplement to Sir T. Roe's account.

(*d*) De Laet's *Description of India and Fragment of Indian History*—1625 (Hoyland and Banerjee, *The Empire of the Great Mogal*, Taraporevalla Bombay, 1928). "It is a complete gazetteer of Jahāngīr's India. Although it is a compilation, it is a faithful and reliable compilation" (Banerjee).

(*e*) Niccolas Manucci's *Storio do Mogor* (1653-1708)—Tr. by William Irvine (John Murray, London, 4 vols.) Vol. I contains an account of Prince Salīm (p. 131), Jahāngīr's reign (pp. 157-78), Nūr Jahān (pp. 161-4), and Bulāqī (pp. 178-81). "All this is based on gossip and is almost entirely worthless for historical purposes." (Benī Prasad).

B. SECONDARY : (i) Elphinstone's *History of India*—(6th ed. by E. B. Cowell, pp. 550-74). "In spite of its imperfections it still remains the best short account of Jahāngīr's reign in English." (Beni Prasad).

(ii) Beni Prasad's *History of Jahāngīr*—2nd edition (The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1930)—is an exhaustive and critical study from all sources. Pp. 441-77 give a detailed Bibliography. Says about European accounts in general, "Their unfamiliarity with the country and its politics, their ignorance of Persian, their prejudices and their credulity made it impossible for them rightly to interpret what they saw." (p. 455).

(iii) Maclagan's *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, ch. V, pp. 69-92, deals with the Jesuits as well as other Europeans at the court of Jahāngīr, 1605-27.

(iv) *Jehangir and the Jesuits* (from the Relations of Fr. Fernão Guerreiro) Ed. by Sir Denison Ross and E. Power (Routledge 1930).

(v) Rev. H. Heras. *Jahāngīr and the Portuguese*, a paper read at the 9th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lucknow in December 1926. (Calcutta, 1927).

(vi) Francis Gladwin's '*The Hist. of Jahāngīr*' ed. by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1930).

(vii) *Articles* : 1. 'A description of Bengal in 1609 A.D.' (Tr. of a Persian account from the diary of Abdul Latif, a favourite retainer of Abul Hasan, a brother of Nūr Jahān) by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Bengal, Past & Present*, April-June 1928).

2. 'The Emperor Jahāngīr's 2nd Visit to Ahmadabad' by M. S. Commissariat (*J. B. H. S.*, Sept. 1928).

3. '*Ma'asir-i-Jahāngīrī*' by Thakur Ram Singh, (*The Journal of Indian History* for Aug. 1928 & Aug. 1929.)

4. 'Bengal under Jahāngīr' by Sri Ram Sharma (*J. I. H.* Vol. XI, 3 ; XIII, 3 ; and XIV, 1).

5. 'Jahangir's Religious Policy', Sri Ram Sharma (*Indian Culture*, IV, 3, pp. 305-23, January 1938).

6. 'East India Co. and the Mughal Authorities during Jahāngīr's Reign,' V. C. Joshi, *J. I. H.*, 1-2 (April-Aug., 1942).

CHAPTER VII

FRUITION OF THE EMPIRE

'No person is permitted to make or sell wine or any other prohibited liquor which occasions inebriety, though I myself am addicted to wine-bibbing.'—INSTITUTES OF JAHĀNGĪR.

'Nūr Jahān managed the whole affairs of the realm .... and nothing was wanting to make her an absolute monarch but the reading of the *khutba* in her name.'—TATIMMA-I WĀQIĀT-I JAHĀNGĪRĪ.

The reign of Jahāngīr (1605-27) saw the fruition of the Empire which Akbar had so gloriously rebuilt out of the slender resources left to him by his ill-fated father. The past half-a-century of remarkable reconstruction had established the Empire on secure foundations, which were not to be shaken at least for a century, in spite of numerous rebellions and wars of succession. More than anything else, Akbar's policy of conciliation and concord, begun with his marriage with the Amber princess, had in Dr. Beni Prasad's words, "symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics ; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns ; it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced."[1] Add to this, the legacy of peace and wealth that Akbar had bequeathed to his immediate successor, and we have a fairly complete picture of the favourable auspices under which Jahāngīr opened his prosperous career.

However, as the character of our history at each stage is but the reflex of the Emperor's own character, we find reflected in this period also the personal vices and virtues of Jahāngīr and his consort.

It is convenient to divide our study under the following heads : I. Early Career : A Résumé ; II. Accession and Outlook ; III. Wars of Conquest ; IV. Nūr Jahān and Reactions ; V. Jahāngīr and the Europeans ; and VI. Achievements and Failures of Jahāngīr.

I. EARLY CAREER : A RÉSUMÉ

The early career of Prince Salīm up to the death of Akbar, already traced under the previous reign, may be here briefly recounted :

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1. *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 2.

(i) Birth.

Salīm was born on Wednesday noon, August 30, 1569, in the thirteenth year of Akbar's reign. Akbar was at that time twenty-seven years of age. Salīm's mother was the Rajput princess (daughter of Rājā Bhār Mal of Amber); whom Akbar had married in January 1562. All previous children of the Emperor having died in their infancy, he had besought the blessings of the famous Sheikh Salīm Chishtī, after whom the new child was called Muhammad Sultān Salīm.[1] Of the other children, Prince Murād was born on June 7, the same year, and Prince Dāniyāl on September 9, 1572. Both died in their prime of youth owing to excessive drinking.[2]

(ii) Education.

Though Akbar was himself illiterate, he never neglected the education of his children. After their circumcision on October 22, 1573, the princes were placed under the guardianship of the best scholars and tutors of the age. The most notable of these, who moulded the character and intellect of Salīm at a very impressionable age (in 1582), was 'Abdur Rahīm Khān, the son of Bairam Khān. 'One of the first minds of the age,' he was a 'master of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit and Hindi .... A vigorous prose-writer and a facile versifier, he perpetuated his name in contemporary literature.' His translation of Bābur's *Memoirs* into Persian has already been mentioned. Under his able guardianship, Prince Salīm 'learnt Turkish which served him later as the medium of conversation with John Hawkins, and as the means of confidential consultation with one of his servants, when held in custody by Mahābat Khān. He picked up a fair acquaintance with Hindi and delighted in Hindi songs. He developed a somewhat poetic disposition, paraded his skill in versification, and sowed his talk with poetic quotations.'[3] By nature as well as nurture Salīm possessed a strong and virile constitution, which however was later spoilt by excessive indulgence and drink.

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1. 'I never heard my father, whether in his cups or in his sober moments, call me Muhammad Salīm or Sultān Salīm, but always Shaikhu Bābā.'—Jahāngīr.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 97, 114.

3. 'As I have a poetical disposition, I sometimes intentionally, sometimes involuntarily, compose couplets and quatrains.'—Jahāngīr; Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

(iii) Probation.

According to the wise custom of the dynasty, the princes were early associated with high public duties in order to train them for higher responsibilities. But this practice was not without its dangers. Holding offices of the highest rank in the provinces, with practically unlimited resources at their command, often tickled their ambition beyond the bounds of loyalty, and evoked in them a keen desire for premature independence. Thus in the year of crisis, 1581, both Salīm and Murād were placed in command, though nominal, of large divisions of the army. Following this, Salīm was placed in similar charge of the departments of justice and public ceremonial.[1]

(iv) Marriages.

At the age of fifteen Salīm was betrothed to his cousin, Mān Bāi, daughter of Rājā Bhagwān Dās of Amber. The marriage took place on February 13, 1585, the marriage portion being fixed at two crores of *tankas*. Both the Hindu and Muslim wedding ceremonies were observed. A daughter was born on April 26, 1586; she was named Sultān-unnīsa Begam. Although she lived up to sixty years of age (d. 1646), she played no part in history. The second child, Prince Khūsrū, born on August 6, 1587, was destined for a more prominent though tragic rôle. Mān Bāi came to be called Shāh Begam after this. She committed suicide,

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1. How, in the face of such examples, European writers often misrepresent Mughal history, is illustrated by the following passage in W. Crooke's *The N. W. Provinces of India*, pp. 102-3 :—

'His (Akbar's) immediate descendants, when they were educated at all, were trained in the old Mussalman style—the recitation of the *Korān*, quibbles of theology, the dull verbiage of legal subtleties were their mental food. In early boyhood they lived amidst the vain gossip and squalid intrigues of vicious women who filled the harem. As they grew up, the jealousy of rival queens forbade their taking a leading part in the politics of the capital. The herd of knavish flatterers and adventurers, the palace gang, were averse to their acquiring a competent knowledge of administration. A prince who took his proper part in the council of the State was suspected of intriguing against the monarch; so he was often packed off to a distant province where the same influences opposed his training. The local viceroy acted as his leader, and took care to hoodwink him and prevent him from meddling in the conduct of affairs. He was better pleased to see him waste his time in dissipation than to educate him in statecraft.'

"Such facile writing," says Beni Prasad, "compounded of ignorance and prejudice, is responsible for much of the prevalent misconception of Mughal history."—*History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 25-6 n. 63.

in a fit of melancholia, in 1604, when, according to Inayatu-lla Salīm 'remained for some days absorbed in grief for her loss'.[1]

Meanwhile, Salīm's seraglio had grown considerably. In 1586 he had married Jagat Gosāin or Jodh Bāi (daughter of Udai Singh) and others. According to Father Xavier, in 1597 Prince Salīm had no less than twenty 'lawful wives'. His marriage with Mihr-unnīsa (Nūr Jahān) will be dealt with later. "Concubines raised the harem to the monstrous number of 300."[2] Prince Parvez was born of Sāhib-i-Jamāl on Oct. 2, 1589. Khurram (meaning Joyous; Shāh Jahān) was born on Jan. 5, 1592, of Jagat Gosāin (Jodh Bāi). Shahryār was born of a concubine in 1605.[3]

(v) Promotion.

In 1577 Salīm was elevated to the rank of 10,000, while Murād and Dāniyāl held only ranks of 7,000 and 6,000 respectively. In 1585 they received other insignia, and promotion to 12,000, 9,000, and 7,000 in order. But though during the next thirteen years Prince Salīm lived in close association with Akbar, "the prevailing mist of political intrigue and chicane gradually clouded their relation, estranged their hearts, and ultimately involved them in a bitter wrangle."[4]

(vi) Revolt.

The story of Salīm's revolt has already been recounted in detail in its proper context. As early as 1591 he showed an indecent haste to succeed to his father's power and position. Badāūnī accuses him of poisoning Akbar; but, says Beni Prasad, "the suspicion was unjust, but the illness (of Akbar) was a serious one. As a vacancy of the throne came within the range of possibility, Salīm set his agents to watch the movements of his brother Murād."[5] The latter died of his own excesses on May 2, 1599.

When Akbar left for the south, Salīm was in charge of the north, and particularly commissioned to invade Mewār. But he misused this confidence and chose to rebel. His revolt kept the Empire in trepidation for five years, but it never seriously jeopardised the stability of the government. Akbar's personality and his brilliant successes had won him the enthusiastic admiration and affection of his

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 112.
2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 31-2.
3. Ibid., p. 33.
4. Ibid., p. 36.
5. Ibid., p. 42.

subjects. His vast resources in men, money and materials, were more than enough to stamp out any rising within a short time. But his paternal tenderness kept him from making short work with Salīm. The Prince, on his part, was also aware of the weakness of his position and shrank from carrying matters to extremes. He hesitated, and temporised, and occasionally even shook off the influence of his favourites and submitted to his father.

Nevertheless, in 1601, he had assumed independence, set up a mock Court at Allahabad, appropriated 30 lakhs of rupees from the treasury of Bihar, and bestowed *jāgīrs* and titles on his supporters. He had gathered together a force of 30,000 men, with the only object of 'paying his respects to his father'! But Akbar's dignified self-assurance soon brought him to his senses and he was conciliated with the governorship of Bengal and Orissa. Here is Ināyatu-lla's testimony :—

When the Emperor was at Akbarābād (Āgra), the Prince wrote to request the honour of an audience, and proceeded so far as Etawa for the purpose; but here doubts were suggested to him by some ill-inclined persons and he feared to advance any further. His Majesty was no sooner made aware of this circumstance, than he wrote to the Prince, that "if he were earnest in his wish to pay his respects, he ought to display his confidence by doing so *alone*, and dismiss his attendants to their *jāgīrs*; if, on the contrary, suspicion withheld him, he had better retire to Allahābād, there to reassure his heart, and repair to Court when he was able to do so with full trust and confidence." The Prince, alarmed at this kind yet disdainful communication, instantly despatched *Mīr Sadr-i-Jahān*, who was the chief judiciary of the Imperial dominions, and His Majesty's agent with the Prince, to his august father, charged with the most submissive apology, and referring to the Mīr's own observation in testimony of his sense of duty and allegiance. He then set towards Allahābād, and meanwhile an Imperial *farmān* was issued, investing him with the government of Bengal and Orissa, and directing him to despatch his officers to take possession of those two provinces. Rājā Mān Singh was, at the same time, ordered to transfer the provinces, and to return to Court. [1]

Despite this, however, Salīm again lapsed into his rebellious ways. This occasioned the summoning of Abu-'l Fazl from the south, and his shameful assassination by the agent of the intractable Prince. Details thereof have already been given. This tragedy was enacted in August 1602.

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1. *Takmila-i Akbar-nāma*, E. & D., VI, p. 105.

Though Salīm deserved condign punishment, "the father and statesman in Akbar overcame the judge."[1]

(vii) Reconciliation.

Dāniyāl was fast sinking into the grave on account of his own vices. Salīm's children were too young to supersede him. Besides, Salīm was still the favourite of the harem. So, as Ināyatu-lla has recorded, 'The Sultānā Salīmā Begam, having interceded between His Majesty and the young Prince Salīm, reconciled the monarch to the wonted exercise of paternal affection, while at the same time she also procured for Salīm the pardon of Akbar's august mother. When the Prince approached the capital, that venerable matron proceeded some days' journey to meet him, and brought him to her own private abode. Even His Majesty, to conciliate his illustrious son, advanced several steps to receive him .... After a short interval, His Majesty conferred on him the royal diadem, which is the main source of ornament to the Court and sovereignty, and the chief light of the pomp of royalty.'[2]

(viii) Plots to supersede Salīm.

In 1603, when he was asked for a second time to march on Mewar, Salīm again prevaricated and temporised. Finally, he made towards Allahabad under the pretext of collecting forces; and soon reverted to his incorrigible ways. There was evidently no end to Akbar's sorrows in his fast declining age. His great courtiers and friends had died one after another: Bīr Bal in 1586, followed closely by Todar Mal and Bhagwān Dās; Sheikh Mubārak (father of Abu-l Fazl and Faizī) in 1593; Faizī in 1595, Abu'-l Fazl in 1602. In this forlorn state, Akbar's mind was tortured by disappointment at the ungrateful and treasonable conduct of his heir-apparent. Naturally, the thoughts of the ambitious, under these circumstances, turned to Prince Khūsrū (Salīm's eldest son). He was the nephew of Rājā Mān Singh, and son-in-law of Mīrzā Azīz Koka—two of the most powerful grandees of the Empire. Khūsrū was seventeen years of age, handsome in appearance, agreeable in manners, and possessed an irreproachable character. He was only too glad to find such eminent champions. But it is impossible to say how far Akbar countenanced this plot to supersede his favourite son.

He made one last attempt (in Aug. 1604) to overawe him into submission, or compel him into final surrender. But the gods inter-

1. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 55.
2. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 108-9.

vened. Inclement Nature impeded the progress of his arms, the imminent death of his aged mother, Maryam Makānī, necessitated his sudden retreat to Agra.

Prince Salīm was quick to apprehend the danger he was in. He found it expedient to follow his father to the capital, to share in the family bereavement. After the interchange of ceremonial graces, Akbar reprimanded him severely and placed him in confinement under the care of physicians. Wine and evil company had deranged his mind, and hence he was deprived of both for a while. Salīm passed ten long days in humiliation and repentance. Close on the heels of these events came Akbar's last illness, and finally death on October 17, 1605.

(ix) Failure of Plot.

Of the conspiracy that surrounded Akbar's death-bed we have already spoken. Only the main circumstances may be here recounted. In the end the plot to supersede Salīm was frustrated in the following manner, as described by Āzād Beg :—

'During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khān-i Azam (Mīrzā Azīz Koka), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Rājā Mān Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultān Khūsrū Emperor. They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salīm), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respects to Court. This conspiracy was revealed to Salīm by Mīr Zaiau-l Mulk Kazwīnī. So that, through the endeavours of that faithful friend and sincere well-wisher, the arrow of those perfidious enemies missed its mark ....

'When the raw attempt of those wretches had thus been brought to light .... they were obliged to throw off all dissimulation .... The Khān-i Azam and Rājā Mān Singh sat down, and calling all the nobles began to consult with them, and went so far as to say, "The character of the high and mighty Prince Sultān Salīm is well-known, and the Emperor's feelings towards him are notorious ; for he by no means wishes him to be his successor. We must all agree to place Sultān Khūsrū upon the throne."

'When this was said, Saiyid Khān, who was one of the great nobles, and connected with the royal house, and descended from an ancient and illustrious Mughal family, cried out, "Of what do you speak, that in the existence of a Prince like Salīm Shāh, we should place his son upon the throne." *This is contrary to laws and customs of the Chaghatai Tartars, and shall never be.*" .... The assembly broke up, and each went his own way.

'Rājā Rām Dās Kachhwāha, with all his followers, immediately went to guard the treasury, and Murtazā Khān left the fort, and retiring to his

own residence, took steps to assemble the Saiyids of Barah and his own followers .... People began to flock in, each striving to be the first to arrive (where Prince Salīm was), till at last, in the evening, the Khān-i Azam came in great shame and paid his respects. The Prince took not the least notice of his ill-conduct, and bestowed all royal kindness upon him.

'When Mān Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, he took Sultān Khūsrū with him to his own place, and prepared boats, intending to escape the next day to Bengal .... Although the royal heart (of Salīm) was vexed at hearing this, yet he sent Mādhav Singh (Mān Singh's brother) to reassure and bring him back .... His Majesty (Jahāngīr) gave his promise, with the utmost grace and kindness, that no harm should happen to him from any one .... The next day Rājā Mān Singh came to Court, and brought Sultān Khūsrū to the feet of his royal father. His Majesty treated him with the greatest kindness, and clasping him to his bosom, kissed his face. When His Majesty had concluded that business, he passed some days in mourning and distributing alms, till at last the day arrived for him to ascend the throne.'[1]

II. ACCESSION AND OUTLOOK

(i) Accession.

According to Dr. Beni Prasad, Salīm mounted his father's throne in Agra Fort on Thursday, Oct. 24, 1605, when he had completed thirty-six years of his age.[2] The *Wāqiāt-i-Jahāngīrī*, however, says: 'On Thursday, the 8th Jumada-s Sani, 1014 *Hijra* (12th October, 1605), I ascended the throne at Agra, in the thirty-eighth year of my age.'[3]

He assumed the name and title of Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad Jahāngīr Pādshāh Ghāzī, and in the words of Asad Beg, began to win the hearts of all the people and to rearrange the withered world. He honoured many of the greatest nobles and powerful ministers and brave youths with honourable titles and acceptable dignities; for the consolation of the hearts of his people he suspended the Chain of Justice with golden bells, and removed the rust of oppression from the hearts of his people .... In the first few days he repealed and gave up all transit duties and fees, the poll-tax on Hindus and tax on orphans' property, and remitted them throughout the whole of the hereditary dominions. He also remitted and removed, root and branch, the whole of the duties and imposts levied on the produce of the sea or of mines, so that throughout the whole of Hindustan, and

1. *Wikāya*, E. & D., op. cit., VI. pp. 163-74.
2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 129, 131, 132 n. 6.
3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 284.

wherever the jurisdiction of the Emperor extended, no one could so much as name them.' [1]

(ii) Comment.

A word of comment is needed on the bestowal of some of the 'honourable titles and acceptable dignities' referred to above. Under the circumstances that heralded the new regime there were bound to be some *parvenus* who came to the fore only on account of indiscriminate support of their patron. The most notorious example of this was the promotion of Bīr Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abu-l Fazl. He was raised to the 'dignity' of a commander of 3,000. On the other hand, Abdur Rahmān Khān, the son of the murdered victim, was worthily elevated though, in the first instance, only to the rank of 2,000. A third accession to the nobility worthy of mention is Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég, a Persian adventurer who was destined to become famous as *Itimād-ud-daulah*, the father of Nūr Jahān. At present he was only a commander of 1,500, Khān-i-Zamān Azīz Koka and Rājā Mān Singh suffered inevitable eclipse.

With regard to the Chain of Justice, there was nothing preposterous about it, despite its being called 'silly' by Jahāngīr's European critics. Dowson writes : "In allusion to the *silly chain of justice* which the Emperor tells us he fastened from the palace at Agra to a stone pillar near the Jumna .... It does not appear that it was ever shaken, and probably was never meant for anything but parade." However, he further points out that "The practice was a mere imitation of what was attributed to one of the early Chinese Emperors, Yu-to ; and Rājā Anangapāl had already done the same at Delhi." [2] There is nothing more 'silly' in this than in the symbolic use of the mace to keep order in the British House of Commons, or the representation of the globe on the sceptres of kings, and a pair of scales, etc. as emblems of justice.'[3]

(iii) The Twelve Institutes.

'I established twelve ordinances to be observed, and to be the common rule of practice throughout my dominions.

1. Ibid., pp. 173-4.

2. Ibid., p. 262n. Vincent Smith also calls it "a piece of silly make-believe." —*O. H.*, p. 375. Read "The Chain of Justice" by H. C. Raychaudhury in *Indian Culture*, VII, 1, July 1940, pp. 1-2.

3. 'The first order which I issued was for the setting up of a Chain of Justice, so that if the officers of the courts of Justice should fail in the investigation of the complaints of the oppressed, and in granting them

1. *Prohibition of cesses (Zakát)*: I forbade the levy of duties under the names of *tamghá* and *mīr-bahrī*, together with the taxes of all descriptions which the *jāgīrdārs* of every *suba* and *sarkār* had been in the habit of exacting for their own benefit.

2. *Regulation about highway robbery and theft.* In those roads which were the scenes of robbery and theft, and in those portions of roads which were far from habitations, the *jāgīrdārs* of the neighbourhood were to build a *Sarai* or a mosque, and they were to sink a well, to be the means of promoting cultivation, and to induce people to settle there. If these places were near to *khālsa* lands, the Government officials were to carry out these provisions.

3. *Free inheritance of property of deceased persons*: *Firstly*— No one was to open the packages of merchants on the roads without their consent. *Secondly*—When any infidel or Musalman died in any part of my dominions, his property and effects were to be allowed to descend by inheritance, without interference from any one. When there was no heir, then officers were to be appointed to take charge of the property and to expend it, according to the law of Islām, in building mosques and *sarāis*, in repairing broken bridges, and in digging tanks and wells.

4. *Of wine and all kinds of intoxicating liquors*: Wine and every sort of intoxicating liquor is forbidden, and must neither be made nor sold, although I myself have been accustomed to take wine, and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the 38th year of my age, have regularly partaken of it . . . .

5. *Prohibition of the taking possession of houses, and of cutting of the noses and ears of criminals*: No one was to take up his abode in the dwelling of another. I made an order prohibiting every one from cutting off the noses or ears of criminals for any offence, and I made a vow to heaven that I would never inflict this punishment on any one.

6. *Prohibition of ghasbi*: The officers of the *khālsa* lands and the *jāgīrdārs* are not to take the lands of the *raiyats* by force, and cultivate them on their own account. The collectors of the *khālsa* lands and the *jāgīrdārs* are not without permission to form connexions with the people in their districts.

7. *Building of hospitals and appointment of physicians to attend the sick*: Hospitals were to be built in large cities, and doctors were to be appointed to attend the sick. The expenses were to be paid from the royal treasury.

8. *Prohibition of slaughter of animals on certain days*: In imitation

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redress, the injured persons might come to this chain and shake it, and so give notice of their wrongs. I ordered that the chain should be made of pure gold, and be thirty *gaz* long, with sixty bells upon it. The weight of it was four Hindustani *mans*, equal to thirty-two *mans* of Irak. One end was firmly attached to a battlement of the fort of Agra, the other to a stone column on the bank of the river.' (*Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D. op. cit., p. 284)

of my honourable father, I directed that every year from the 18th *Rabī'u-l a-wal*, my birth-day, no animals should be slaughtered for a number of days corresponding to the years of my age. In every week, also, the days were to be exempted from slaughter : Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, the birth-day of my father.

9. *Respect paid to Sunday* : He (my father) used to hold Sunday blessed and to pay it great respect, because it is dedicated to the great Luminary, and because it is the day on which the creation was begun. Throughout my dominions this was to be one of the days in which killing animals is interdicted.

10. *General confirmation of mansabs and jāgīrs* : I issued a general order that the *mansabs* and *jāgīrs* of my father's servants should be confirmed, and afterwards I increased the old *mansabs* according to the merit of each individual ....

11. *Confirmation of aima lands* : The *aima* and *madadma'ash* lands throughout my dominions, which are devoted to the purposes of prayer and praise, I confirmed according to the terms of the grant in the hands of each grantee. Mīrān *Sadr-i-jahān*, who is of the purest race of Saiyids in Hindustan, and held the office of *Sadr* in the days of my father, was directed to look after the poor every day.

12. *Amnesty for all prisoners in forts and in prisons of every kind* : All prisoners who had been long confined in forts or shut up in prisons, I ordered to be set free.'[1]

Sir Henry Elliots's comments[2] on those ordinances give a wholly distorted picture of Jahāngīr and the Mughals. The prospects of a reign, so well begun were marred by the rebellion of the Emperor's eldest son, Prince Khūsrū.

(iv) Khūsrū's Revolt.

Khūsrū was a very popular figure. Terry describes him as 'a gentleman of a very lovely presence and a fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people, that as Seutonious writes of Titus, he was *amor et deliciae, &c.*, the very love and delight of them....He was a man who contented himself with one wife, which with all love and care accompanied him in all his straits, and therefore he would never take any wife but herself, though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality.'[3] "With all his personal charm, natural talents, fine education and blameless life," Beni Prasad writes, "he was an immature youth of fiery temper and weak judgment—just the type of mind, which, joined with the advantages of high station

1. Ibid., pp. 284-87.
2. Ibid., pp. 493-516.
3. Cited by Smith, op. cit., p. 376.

and popularity, forms the most convenient point for intrigue and conspiracy."[1]

On April 6, 1606, evening, he escaped from semi-confinement, under the pretext of visiting his grand-father Akbar's tomb; really he made his way to the Punjab gathering troops with the help of Mīrzā Hasan (son of the powerful noble Mīrzā Shāh Rukh).

Although the rebellious prince was only following in the foot-steps of his father, the reflections of Jahāngīr on his recalcitrancy are worthy of notice, if only as a sample of the change that authority brings over the character and outlook of persons. 'In the first year after my accession,' he writes, 'Khūsrū, influenced by the petulance and pride which accompany youth, by his want of experience and prudence, and by the encouragement of evil companions, got some absurd notions into his head.... They never reflected that sovereignty and government cannot be managed and regulated by men of limited intelligence. The Supreme Dispenser of Justice gives this high mission to those whom He chooses, and it is not everyone that can becomingly wear the robes of royalty. The vain dreams of Khūsrū and his foolish companions could end in nothing but trouble and disgrace."[2]

An alarm was raised, and the pursuit began. 'I despatched Sheikh Farīd Bokhārī on the service, directing him to take all the *mansabdārs* and *ahadīs* he could collect. I determined that I myself would start as soon as it was day......The news came in that Khūsrū was pressing forward to the Punjab, but the thought came to my mind that he might perhaps be doing this as a blind, his real intention being to go elsewhere. Rājā Mān Singh, who was in Bengal, was Khūsrū's maternal uncle, and many thought that Khūsrū would proceed thither. But the men who had been sent out in all directions confirmed the report of his going towards the Punjab. Next morning I arose, and placing my reliance on God, I mounted and set off, not allowing myself to be detained by any person or anything........

'My distress arose from the thought that my son, without any cause or reason, had become my enemy, and that if I did not exert myself to capture him, dissatisfied and turbulent men would support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Uzbegs or Kazilbāshes, and thus dishonour would fall upon my throne.'[3]

There is little interest in the details of the struggle. It terminated within three weeks (April 6-27, 1606). The governor of

1. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 139-40.
2. *Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., p. 291.
3. Ibid., pp. 292-298.

Lahore refused to open the gates for the rebel Prince, who was captured while trying to cross the Chenab.

'Before the defeat of Khūsrū, an order had been issued to all the *jāgīrdārs*, road-keepers, and the ferrymen in the Punjab, informing them of what had happened, and warning them to be careful.'[1]

'On the 3rd of *Muharram* 1015 A.H., Khūsrū was brought into my presence in the garden of Mīrzā Kāmrān, with his hands bound and a chain on his leg, and he was led up from the left side, according to the rule of Chengīz Khān........I attributed my success gained in this expedition to Sheikh Farīd, and I dignified him with the title of *Murtazā Khān*. To strengthen and confirm my rule, I directed that a double row of stakes should be set up from the garden to the city, and that the rebels should be impaled thereon, and thus receive their deserts in this most excruciating punishment. The landholders between the Chenab and Behat who had proved their loyalty, I rewarded by giving to each one of them some lands as *madad-ma'ash*.'[2]

Guru Arjun, the head of the Sikh community, was sentenced to death, as an accomplice of the rebel Prince, and his property, including his hermitage, was confiscated. His offence consisted in giving Rs. 5000 to Khūsrū, which the Guru justified on grounds of his *dharma* and gratitude for past kindness received from Akbar, 'and not because he was in opposition to thee.' Jahāngīr, in the first instance, had only fined him two lakhs of rupees, and ordered him to expunge from the *Granth Sāhib* passages opposed to the Hindus and the Musalmans. But to this Guru Arjun replied : 'Whatever money I have is for the poor, the friendless and the stranger. If thou ask for money, thou mayest take what I have ; but if thou ask for it by way of fine, I shall not give thee even a *Kauri* (shell), for a fine is imposed on wicked, worldly persons, and not on priests and anchorites. And as to what thou hast said regarding the erasure of hymns in the *Granth Sāhib*, I cannot erase or alter an iota...... The hymns which find a place in it are not disrespectful to any Hindu incarnation or Muhammadan prophet. It is certainly stated that prophets, priests, and incarnations are the hand-work of the Immortal God whose limit none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and destruction of falsehood, and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great good fortune.'

Commenting on this Dr. Beni Prasad observes : "The melan-

1. Ibid., p. 299.
2. Ibid., p. 301.

choly transaction has been represented by Sikh tradition as the first of the long series of religious persecutions which the Khālsa suffered from the Mughal Emperors. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. Without minimising the gravity of Jahāngīr's mistake, it is only fair to recognize that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjun himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel."[1] V. A. Smith also writes, "The punishment, it will be observed, was inflicted as a penalty for high treason and contumacy, and was not primarily an act of religious persecution."[2]

Khūsrū himself was blinded and imprisoned; subsequently he partially recovered his sight, but not his liberty.[3] He was destined to be a pawn in the political game, ultimately to be disposed off under very tragic and suspicious circumstances.

III. WARS OF CONQUEST

The principal wars under Jahāngīr were those leading to the final subjugation of Mewār in 1614, the conquest of Ahmadnagar in

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1. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 148-51.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 376. Also see "Jahangir's Relation with the Sikhs", K. P. Mitra, I. H. Q., XXI, 1, pp. 44-48; and A. C. Banerjee, I. H. Q., XXI, 2, II. 135-6, 1945.
3. The blinding of Khūsrū was the result of another insurrection attempted in his favour. The plot was hatched when Jahāngīr had been away in Kabul, to assassinate him on one of his hunting expeditions and place Khūsrū on the throne. There were, however, too many conspirators and the whole plan was betrayed to Jahāngīr. The ring-leaders were caught and executed. The Prince was further victimised as a result of the excessive solicitude of his well-wishers. The *Intikhab-i-Jahāngīr-Shāhī* gives the following account of the blinding :—

'His Majesty ordered Prince Khūsrū to be deprived of his sight. When the wire was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him that it is beyond all expression. The Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Agra; and the paternal love again revived. The most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the Prince, that they might become as sound as they were before. One of the physicians of Persia, Hakīm Sadra by name, undertook to cure the Prince within six months. By his skill, the Prince recovered his original power of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect, and also became smaller than its natural size. After the lapse of the assigned time, the Prince was presented to His Majesty, who showed the physician great favour, and honoured him with the title of *Masihu-z Zamān*.'—E. &. D., op. cit., pp. 448-49.

Beni Prasad observes, "After weighing all available evidence, my conclusion is that the version of the *Intikhab-i Jahāngīrī* comes nearer the truth than any other. The author writes with inside knowledge."—*History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 165-6 and n.

1616, the capture of Kāngra in 1620, and the loss of Khandahār in 1622. There were also a few others relating to minor conquests and insurrections which will be related in due course.

(1) Mewār.

"No community that ever existed can boast of a more romantic history, of more heroic exploits, of a prouder sense of honour and self-respect than the Rajputs of medieval India.......As one glides through the Rajput tradition, the mind staggers at the heights of valour, devotion, and altruism to which humanity can soar. The Rajput spirit appears in its very quintessence in the chequered annals of Mewār......Their (Shisodias) intimate knowledge of the crags and defiles, narrow, obscure passes and hidden, mysterious path-ways, was of the highest value to the Rajputs in their days of adversity. But for them, the history of Mewār might have run a different course.

"Through Mewār, or close to her boundary, passed the highways of commerce between the fertile Gangetic plains and the emporiums of trade on the Western coast. So long as Mewār was independent, the merchants of the Delhi Empire could not expect on these highways adequate security of person and property or freedom from vexatious tolls. That was one reason why Mughal Emperors could never reconcile themselves to the idea of an independent Mewār. There was, of course, the imperialistic motive which prompted the extinction of the last relics of Rajput independence, but in fairness to the Mughals it is necessary to emphasize the economic cause which has generally been overlooked by historians."[1]

We have already traced the history of the Rajputs under Akbar. It will not, however, be out of place here to recall to mind Col. Tod's oft quoted eulogium :

"Had Mewār possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor 'the Retreat of the Ten Thousand,' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the Historic Muse, than the deeds of this brilliant reign (of Pratāp) amid the many vicissitudes of Mewār. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which keeps honour bright, perseverance with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal ; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind. There is not a pass in the alpine Arāvalli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratāp—some brilliant victory and oftener some glorious defeat. Haldighāt is the Thermopylae of Mewār ; the field of Dewir her Marathon."

But all this was to suffer eclipse in the present reign. On the banks of the Peshola, the dying Pratāp, like Hemilcar to Hannibal, had sworn his son and nobles 'by the throne of Bāppā Rāwul' to eternal enmity with the Mughal. Amar Singh, however, though un-

1. Ibid., pp. 218-19.

doubtedly great in many ways, was obliged to bow his proud head before Khurram.

First Expedition :

On his accession, Jahāngīr, as if to make amends for his own dereliction in his father's regime, immediately despatched an army of 20,000 horse against Mewār, under the command of Prince Parvīz and Asaf Khān (Jāffar Bég)—not to be confounded with the more famous brother of Nūr Jahān. The armies encountered each other at Dewir ; the engagement is one of the disputed battles in history. Both sides claimed the victory.[1] But, whatever be the truth, on account of the situation created by Khūsrū's rebellion, Parvīz and his forces were recalled to the capital : 'all was stopped by the unhappy outbreak of Khūsrū,' writes Jahāngīr. 'I was obliged to pursue him to the Punjab, and the capital and interior of the country were denuded of troops. I was obliged to write to Parvīz, directing him to return to protect Agra and the neighbourhood, and to remain there ; so the campaign against the Rāṇā was suspended.'[2]

Second Expedition :

The second expedition was sent two years later (1608) under the promising command of Mahābat Khān. The entire force consisted this time of 12,000 horse, 500 *tehadis*, 2,000 musketeers, 60 elephants, 80 pieces of small artillery mounted on camels and elephants. Twenty lakhs of rupees were allotted for expenses. Yet, while the Mughals won sporadic victories, they failed to make effective headway in the enemy's country.

The next year (1609) Mahābat Khān was replaced by Abdullāh Khān in command. The latter is described as 'a valorous soldier, a rash commander, and a cruel and ruthless sort of man.' From Kumbhalmir [25°9′ N. and 70°35′ E. 40 miles North of Udaipur city ; 3,568 ft. above sea-level.], the rock-fortress built by Rāṇā Kumbha (1443-58), he made such a dash upon Amar Singh, that the latter came near to losing his life. The war went on with varying fortunes on either side, until the recall of Abdullāh Khān to the South on account of the exigencies of the Deccan campaign (to be noticed presently).

After a short experiment with Rājā Basu, the command finally (1613) came to Khān-i Azam Azīz Koka (Khūsrū's father-in-law):

1. Ibid., p. 227.
2. E. & D., op. cit., p. 336

'one of the hyprocites and old wolves of this State' (as Jahāngīr called him) and Prince Khurram. The two inevitably quarrelled, and the former was recalled and placed in confinement in the fort of Gwalior (April 1614). Khurram's charge against him was that he was 'spoiling matters simply on account of the connexion he had with Khūsrū' and that his presence was 'in no way fitting.' However, he was soon set free.

The Last Campaign.

Khurram, now left in absolute command, conducted the campaign with consummate ability. He reduced the Rāṇā to great straits by devastating his country and cutting off his supplies. In fact, Amar Singh found himself in the same plight as his father in 579-80. In the words of Jahāngīr, 'Being helpless, he resolved to succumb, and to do homage. He sent his maternal uncle Subh Karan, and Hardās Jhālā, one of his most trusty and intelligent servants, praying my son to overlook his offences, and to give him an assurance of safety under the princely seal; he would then wait upon him in prison to pay homage, and would send his son and heir-apparent to the Imperial Court, so that he might be classed among the adherents of the throne like all other *rājās*. He also begged that on account of old age he might be excused from proceeding to Court........My son wrote me the particulars in a despatch.

'Rāṇā Amar Singh, and his ancestors, relying upon the security of his mountains and his home, had never seen one of Kings of Hindustan, and had never shown obedience: but now in my fortunate reign he had been compelled to make his submission.'[1] Jahāngīr graciously accepted the submission and even restored Chitor to the Rāṇās, but with the express condition that it should neither be fortified afresh, nor even repaired.

In utter humiliation Rāṇā Amar Singh, some time after, abdicated in favour of his eldest son Karan Singh; the Rāṇā ever after remained loyal to the Mughals until the blind fanaticism of Aurangzeb again drove Rāṇā Rāj Singh into open rebellion. Meanwhile, Karan Singh was placed 'in the right hand of the circle in the *darbār* and presented with a superb dress of honour and a jewelled sword. In March, 1615, at the next *Nauroz* celebrations, he received the rank of 5,000 *zāt* and *sawār*; and what is more, two life-size equestrian statues of Amar Singh and Karan were made,

1. Ibid., p. 339.

in appreciation of their valour, and set in the palace garden within view of the *jarokhā* window at Agra.[1] When Karan left for his home, he received by way of a farewell gift a horse, a special elephant, a dress of honour, a string of pearls of the value of Rs. 50,000 and a jewelled dagger worth Rs. 2,000. Jahāngīr calculated that 'from the time of his waiting on me till he obtained leave, what he had, in the shape of cash, jewellery, etc., was of the value of Rs. 2,00,000 with 110 horses, five elephants, in addition to what my son Khurram bestowed on him at various times.'[2] But what of the loss of dignity and freedom? The proud Rāṇā could never be compensated.

(2) Ahmadnagar.

It will be remembered that Akbar had hastily concluded his Deccan campaign with the siege of Asīrgarh (1601), on account of Salīm's rebellion in the north. Since then, Malik Ambar, an able Abyssinian in the service of Ahmadnagar, had done much to consolidate the position of Nizām Shāhi in the south. He had both military and administrative talent, and had remodelled the revenue system of his state on the principles of Rājā Todar Mal. He was a master of the military tactics of the Marāthās, and took the fullest advantage of the political situation as well as of the peculiar strategic resources of his own country and men. He now set himself the task of recovering the dominion lost to the Mughals.

Burhānpur was the Mughal head-quarters in the south. There the puppet, Prince Parvīz held his petty court; or, as Sir Thomas Roe puts it, 'the prince hath the name and state, but the Khān (Khānan) governs all.' From 1608-15 the inane campaign dragged on, noble succeeding noble as commander; but all equally futile. The war was carried on on two fronts: (1) against the enemy, and (2) within the Mughal camp itself (viz. of mutual recrimination among the nobles!). From 1608—10 the Khān-Khānan was in command: from 1610-12 Khān Jahān Lodī with the assistance of Khān Zamān, Mān Singh and Abdullāh Khān (of Mewār Fame). At the end of this period the Khān-Khānan was again appointed to the southern command. This time he retrieved his position, mainly on account of disunity in the enemy's camp. He was continued

1. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 246 n. 60.
2. Ibid., pp. 245-6 n. 59.

till 1616, when Prince Khurram, ambitious to win fresh laurels, took his place.

Towards the close of October, 1616, Khurram's camp equipage started from Ajmer for the Deccan. Next month the Prince was honoured with the title of Shāh or King "which no Tīmūrid prince had ever received",[1] and loaded with presents he set out on his grand campaign. In Roe's estimate one of the swords he received was valued at Rs. 1,00,000, and another dagger was worth Rs. 40,000. Jahāngīr also prepared to move south, on Tuesday, Nov. 10, 1616. The whole pageant of his march has been well described by Sir Thomas Roe and Terry, his chaplain, who were eye-witnesses. The former says, 'the vale showed like a beautiful city', and ruefully adds, 'I was unfitted with carriage and ashamed of my provision; but five years allowance would not have furnished me with one indifferent suit, sortable to others. . . . So I returned to my poor house.' The latter writes of the camp royal 'which indeed is very glorious, as all must confess, who have seen the infinite number of tents, or pavilions there pitched together, which in a plain make a show equal to a most spacious and glorious city. These tents, I say, when they are all together, cover such a quantity of ground, that, I believe it is five English miles at the least, from one side of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from some hill, where they may be all seen at once.'[2]

The Imperial camp reached Māndū (lat. 22° 20′ N. long. 75° 28′ E., 1,944 ft. above sea) after four months, on March 6, 1617,[2] where a splendid abode had been prepared for the reception at a cost of Rs. 3,00,000.

Prince Khurram, who marched in advance, was joined by Karan Singh (of Mewār) with 1,500 Rajput horse. They reached Burhānpūr on March 6, 1617.[3] But in spite of the pompous equipage, or because of it, the Mughals won their objective without striking a blow. Peace was restored on the restoration of the Bālāghāt territory, recently seized by Malik Ambar, the delivery of the keys of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds, and the payment of tribute by the Deccan chiefs.

Shāh Khurram returned to the Imperial camp at Māndū on

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1. Ibid., p. 267.
2. See Ibid., pp. 267-72.
3. This obvious conflict in dates needs to be resolved.

October 12, 1617, with treasures and 'offerings such as had never come in any reign or time.' "Altogether his presents were estimated at Rs. 2,260,000."[1] 'After he had performed the dues of salutation and kissing the ground,' writes Jahāngīr, 'I called him up into the *jharokha*, and with exceeding kindness and delight rose from my place and held him in the embrace of affection. In proportion as he strove to be humble and polite, I increased my favours and kindness to him and made him sit near me.' He was, besides, promoted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *zāt* and *sawār*, and honoured with the title of Shāh Jahān or King of the World.

The Khān Khānan, Abdur Rahīm Khān (son of Bairam Khān) was appointed Governor of Berar, Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar, and his eldest son, Shāh Nawāz Khān was put in charge of 10,000 horse in the newly ceded territory. Altogether 30,000 cavalry and 7,000 musketeers were left in the Deccan under reliable officers, and due provision was made for both the defence and administration of these provinces.

But this was only a truce and no permanent pacification of the Deccan. So long as the astute and intrepid Malik Ambar was alive, there could be no lasting peace. No sooner than the Imperial arms were even partially withdrawn, or the political situation become favourable, he reasserted his strength. By 1620 he practically won back all that he had lost by the previous treaty. This necessitated sending Shāh Jahān once more against him. Similar results followed (1621). 'After much entreaty on the part of the rebel,' writes Jahāngīr, 'it was settled that besides the territory which was formerly held by the Imperial officers, a space of fourteen *kos* beyond should be relinquished, and a sum of 50 lakhs of rupees should be sent to the Imperial treasury.'[2]

Still later, in 1623, both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar sought Imperial aid, each against the other. Mahābat Khān preferred the former, which inevitably entailed hostility with the latter. Finally, Malik Ambar died in 1626, and the Deccan problem remained as unsolved as ever. The impression Malik Ambar had made, even on his enemies, is indicated by the following appreciation of him by Mutamad Khān, the Mughal courtier-chronicler :—

'Intelligence now arrived of the death of Ambar the Abyssinian, in the 80th year of his age, on 31st *Urdibihist*. This Ambar was a slave,

1. For details see ibid., p. 281.
2. *Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D. op. cit., VI, p. 380.

but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory (*kazzaki*) warfare, which in the language of the Dakhni is called *bargi-giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence.[1]

(3) Kāngra.

This a beautiful and well-fortified region in north-eastern Punjab, impregnable on account of its geographical configuration. [Lat. 31°20′ and 32°58′ ; long. 75°39′ and 78°35′]. The *Shash Fat-i Kāngra* thus refers to the fort and its history : 'The fort of Kāngra is very lofty, and stands on a high hill. Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong ; in so much that no king was ever able to take it ; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient *Rājās*, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in the possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan kings who have reigned in this country. From A.H. 720, or the commencement of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-dīn's power, to the year 963, when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort has been besieged no less than 52 times by the most powerful kings, and rulers, but no one has been able to take it. Fīroz, who was one of the greatest Kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled all his efforts ; for at last he was contented with having an interview with the *Rājā*, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kuli Khān Turkoman, entitled Khān-Jahān, Governor of the province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Punjab ; but notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it......It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahāngīr, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed.'[2]

The task was accomplished by Rājā Bikramjit acting under

1. Ibid., pp. 428-9.
2. Ibid., p. 526. For details of the conquest, which are very interesting, see ibid., pp. 518-26.

the command of Shāh Khurram. 'He took possession of all the treasures which had been amassed by the *Rājās* of that place from ancient times. From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the information of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms among the poor and the needy.'[1]

'On Monday, 5th *Muharram*, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kāngra arrived....... When this humble individual', writes Jahāngīr, 'ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Murtazā Khān, Governor of the Punjab, against it with a large force, but Murtazā died before its reduction was accomplished. Chaupar Mal, son of Rājā Basu, was afterwards sent against it : but that traitor rebelled, his army was broken up, and the fall of the fortress was deferred. Not long after, the traitor was made prisoner, and was executed and went to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince Khurram was afterwards sent against it with a strong force, and many nobles were directed to support him. In the month of *Shawwal*, 1029 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were portioned out, and the ingress of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men lived upon dry fodder, and similar things which they boiled and ate ; but when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance remained, the place surrendered on Monday, *Muharram* 1,1031. (November 16, 1620).

'The extreme heat of Agra was uncongenial to my constitution,.... and as I had a great desire for the air of Kāngra....I went to pay a visit to the fortress....After passing over about half a *kos* (from Bahlum) we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *khutba* was read, a cow was killed, and other things were done, such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All this was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous monarch had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress.'[2]

(4) Kandahār.

Kandahār, on account of its situation and importance, both commercial and military, was a constant source of friction between the Mughals and the Persians. It had been conquered, as we have seen, by Bābur in 1522, and kept by his sons, Humāyūn and Kāmrān. It slipped away

1. Ibid., pp. 525-26.
2. Ibid., pp. 374-375 ; 381-83.

in 1558, but was re-acquired by Akbar in 1594. The revolt of Khūsrū, at the commencement of the present reign, gave the Persians an opportunity, and Shāh Abbās (1587-1629) instigated the chiefs of Khorasan and others to attack Kandahār. But the Mughal commander of the fort, Shāh Bég Khān, proved more than a match for the Persians. Besides, reinforcements from India soon arrived (1607), to the utter discomfiture of the enemy.

Foiled in this indirect attempt, Shāh Abbās feigned indignation at the mischievous activities of his subjects, declared the attack was unauthorised, professed sincere friendship towards Jahāngīr, and hoped that the unfortunate occurrence would leave no unpleasantness behind. Jahāngīr naively accepted these diplomatic protestations of his astute neighbour, went to Kabul, directed a futile campaign against the predatory tribes of Bangash, ordered repair of the roads from Kandahār to Gaznī, and engaged himself in some beneficent activities, abolished certain customs duties at Kabul, planted trees and improved gardens, and set out for Lahore in August, 1607, after a sojourn of eleven weeks. These events occurred between the rebellion of Khūsrū and the plot to assassinate Jahāngīr that we have already mentioned.

In the meanwhile, Shāh Abbās, who never gave up his designs upon Kandahār, tried to cover up his sinister intentions by the exchange of diplomatic embassies, gifts, and other graces. Thus, he sent Persian ambassadors to the Mughal Court in 1611, 1615, 1616, and 1620, loaded with alluring presents and letters containing fulsome and studied flattery. A sample may be here given for more than the amusement it affords :—

'May the flower-bed of sovereignty and rule and the mead of magnificence and exalted happiness of His Honour of heavenly dignity, of sunlike grandeur, the King whose fortune is young, of Saturn-like majesty, the renowned Prince, possessing the authority of the spheres, the Khedive, the world-gripper (Jahāngīr) and country-conquering sovereign, the Prince of the exaltedness of Sikandar, with banner, of Darius, he who sits in the pavilion of greatness and glory, the possessor of the (seven) climes, the increase of the joys of good fortune and prosperity, adorner of the gardens of happiness, decorator of the rose-parterre, lord of the happy conjunction (of the planets), the opener of the countenance, the perfection of Kinghood, expounder of the mysteries of the sky, the adornment of the face of learning and insight, index of the book of creation, compendium of human perfections, mirror of the glory of God, elevator of the lofty soul, increaser of good fortune and of the beneficent

ascension, sun of the grandeur of the skies, the shadow of the benignity of the Creator, he who has the dignity of Jamshid among the stars of the host of heaven, lord of conjunction, refuge of the world, river of the favours of Allāh, and fountain of unending mercy, verdure of the plain of purity, may his land (lit. surface) be guarded from the calamity of the evil eye; may his fountain of perfection be preserved in truth, his desire and love; the tale of his good qualities and benevolence cannot be written.'[1]

These compliments were only a camouflage; behind the smoke-screen of fine phrases the Shāh was mobilising mischief. When he thought that the time had come, owing to the internal situation in India, he did not hesitate to strike an effective blow. Kandahār was once more besieged in 1621, and finally taken by the Persians in 1622. Jahāngīr thought of elaborate preparations of war, which he hoped to carry right to the Persian capital; but all this miscarried on account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion. Here is Jahāngīr's description of the situation :—

'A despatch arrived from the son of Khān Jahān, reporting that Shāh Abbās, King of Persia, had laid siege to the fort of Kandahār with the forces of Irak and Khurasan. I gave orders for calling troops from Kashmir, and Khwāja Abu-l-Hassan *Dīwān* and Sadik Khān *Bakshī* were sent on in advance of me to Lahore, to organise the forces as the princes brought them up from the Dakkhin, Gujarat, Bengal, and Bihar, and as the nobles came from their *jāgīrs* and assembled, and then to send them on in succession to the son of Khān Jahān at Multan (where the forces were to be concentrated). Artillery, mortars, elephants, treasure, arms, and equipments were also to be sent on thither......For such an army 100,000 bullocks or more would be needed......But Zainu-l' Abidīn whom I had sent to summon Khurram (who was to be placed in command) returned and reported that the Prince would come after he had passed the rainy season in the fort Māndū. *When I read and understood the contents of the Prince's letter, I was not at all pleased or rather I was displeased.*'[2]

After the capture of Kandahār, the Shāh had the temerity to write to Jahāngīr, declaring that Kandahār had rightly belonged to the Persians and that Jahāngīr ought to have voluntarily surrendered it to him, and expressing at the same time that 'the ever vernal flower of union and cordiality (between the two sovereigns) would remain in bloom and (that) every effort be made to strengthen the foundations of concord.'[3]

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1. Cited by Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 338-9, n. 2.
2. E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 383.
3. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 350.

(5) Minor conquests.

Before we proceed to consider the circumstances and details of Shāh Jahān's revolt, we might briefly describe some of the minor conquests under Jahāngīr.

In 1610, a Muslim youth named Qutb had tried to impersonate Prince Khūsrū and create trouble in Patna. He was soon executed and there was an end of the affair. But more formidable was the commotion further east. The refractory Afghans in Bengal had never been fully subjugated. In 1599 under their leader, Usmān Khān, they had rebelled against Mān Singh's grandson Mahā Singh. Though Mān Singh, when he returned to the province temporarily, subdued them, they still continued to give trouble in the earlier years of Jahāngīr's reign. The frequent change of governors afforded the rebels ample opportunities. Finally, in 1608, when Islām Khān was appointed to this eastern province, he changed his head-quarters from Rājmahāl to Decca (then called Jahāngīrnagar), so as to be able to deal with the rebels effectively. Peaceful overtures having proved futile, a grand campaign was organised under the command of Sujaat Khān. Finally, the Afghans fighting bravely, and almost recklessly, were conquered. On April 1, 1612, Jahāngīr received the glad tidings of the victory, attested by the head of Usmān, 'the last of the brave Afghans.' Thereafter, Jahāngīr treated the Afghans with great clemency and promoted them to some of the highest ranks in the Imperial hierarchy.

Khurdā, in Orissa, with its famous temple of Jagannāth was subdued after brave resistance, by its Rājā Purshotam Dās, who was obliged to yield and send his daughter to the Imperial harem. This was effected by Rājā Kalyān, son of Rājā Todar Mal, in 1611. In 1615 Khokhara, in the wilds of Bihar, was captured from its ruler Durjan Sāl, because of its valuable diamond mines which were declared a state monopoly. The conquest was effected by Ibrāhīm Khān (brother of Nūr Jahān), on whom was bestowed the title of *Firoz Jang* with the rank of 4,000. In 1617 Purshotam Dév of Khurdā again rebelled, and his territory was finally annexed to the Empire by Mukarram Khān, the Governor of Orissa. This brought the Mughal Frontier on this side to the borders of Golconda. In the same year, the tribes of Jām and Bhara in Cutch were subdued by Rājā Bikramjit whom the *Shash Fat-i Kāngra* calls 'an old, brave, and experienced chief, who was very faithful to the throne. . . .for whom the Prince (Shāh Jahān) had used every endeavour to obtain advancement, the gold of whose friendship, when tried

by the touch-stone had turned out pure and red,' etc.[1] In 1620 Kishtwar, to the south of Kashmir, with its rich fruits and saffron, was taken from its *Rājā*, who rebelled and was again subdued in 1622. This state, though it was small, yielded a revenue of Rs. 1,00,000.

IV. NŪR JAHĀN AND REACTIONS

Now we come to the most interesting part of Jahāngīr's story. All the remaining events, as well as some of those we have already narrated, are to be connected with the advent of Nūr Jahān. She forms as it were the pivot or the principal hinge on which the history of the rest of the reign turns. The rebellions of Shāh Jahān and Mahābat Khān were primarily reactions of the workings of Nūr Jahān's influence. "No figure in mediæval history," observes Beni Prasad, "has been shrouded in such romance as the name of Nūr Jahān calls to the mind. No incident in the reign of Jahāngīr has attracted such attention as his marriage with Nūr Jahān. For full fifteen years that celebrated lady stood forth as the most striking and most powerful personality in the Mughal Empire." But, as regards the many romantic legends that have gathered round her name, he very properly says, "It is all very fascinating but it is not history. Sober history unfolds a tale lacking in such a picturesque romance, but full of human interest."[2]

The best reliable and brief account of Nūr Jahān's history is contained in the following passage from Mutamad Khān's *Iqbāl-nāma-i Jahāngīrī* :—

'Among the great events that occurred during this interval (sixth year of the reign) was the Emperor Jahāngīr's demanding Nūrjahān Begam in marriage. This subject might be expanded into volumes, but we are necessarily confined to a limited space in thus describing the strange decrees of Fate. Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég, the son of Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf, was a native of Teheran. Khwāja Muhammad was, first of all, the *wazīr* of Muhammad Khān Taklu, governor of Khurasan. After the death of Muhammad Khān, he entered the service of the renowned King Tahmāsp Safawī, and was entrusted with the *wazīrship* of Yazd. The Khwāja had two sons Aka Tahir and Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég .... After the death of his father (1577), Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég, with two sons and a daughter, travelled to Hindustan. On the road, as he was passing through Kandahār, by the blessing of god, another daughter was born to him.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 521.
2. *History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 170-72.



NŪR JAHĀN BEGAM

In the city of Fatehpūr, he had the good fortune to be presented to the Emperor Akbar. In a short time owing to his devotion to the King's service, and his intelligence, Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég was raised to the office of *dīwān* or superintendent of the household. He was considered exceedingly clever and skilful, both in writing and in transacting business. He had studied the old poets, and had a nice appreciation of the meaning of words; and he wrote *shikasta* in a bold and elegant style. His leisure moments were devoted to the study of poetry and style, and his generosity and beneficence to the poor was such that no one ever turned from his door disappointed. In taking bribes, however, he was very bold and daring. When His Highness the Emperor Akbar was staying at Lahore, Ali Kuli Bég Istajlu, who had been brought up under Shāh Ismail II, having come from the kingdom of Irak, became included among the number of the royal servants, and, as Fath ordered it, married that daughter of Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég who had been born in Khandahār. Afterwards in the reign of Jahāngīr, he received a suitable *mansab*, and the title of *Sher-Afgan* was conferred on him. He next received a *jāgīr* in the province of Bengal, and departed thither to take possession. His murder of Kutub-d dīn Khān (Governor of Bengal) and his own death have already been related.[1] After the death of Kutub-d dīn, the officials of Bengal, in obedience to royal command, sent to Court the daughter of Ghiyās Bég, who had been exalted to the title of *Itimādu-d daula*, and the King, who was greatly distressed at the murder of Kutub-d dīn, entrusted her to the keeping of his own royal mother. There she remained some time without notice. Since, however, Fate had decreed that she should be the Queen of the World and Princess of the Time, it happened that on the celebration of New Year's Day in the sixth year of the Emperor's reign (March, 1611), her appearance caught the Emperor's far-seeing eye, and so captivated him that he included her

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1. It was reported that Sher-Afgan 'was insubordinate and disposed to be rebellious. When Kutub-d dīn was sent to Bengal (Aug. 1606) he was directed to look after Sher Afgan: if he was found to be loyal and dutiful, he was to be maintained in his *jāgīr;* but if not, he was to be sent to Court, or to be brought to punishment if he delayed to proceed thither. Kutub-d dīn formed a bad opinion of his actions and way of life. When he was summoned to appear before the viceroy, he made unreasonable excuses, and cherished evil designs. Kutub-d dīn made a report upon his conduct to the Emperor, and the Imperial order was given for sending him to Court; the viceroy was also directed to carry out the instructions he had received, and to bring Sher-Afgan to punishment if he manifested any disloyalty. On receiving this command Kutub-d dīn immediately proceeded to Bardwan (March, 1607) which was the *jāgīr* of Sher-Afgan.' Suspecting 'there was a design against him,' Sher-Afgan, in the course of conversation, 'before any one could interfere,' ran his sword into the viceroy's belly and slew him. 'Pīr Khān Kashmīrī, a brave officer, galloped against Sher-Afghan and struck him on the head with a sword, but Sher-Afgan returned it so fiercely that he killed his assailant at a blow. The other attendants now pressed forward in numbers, and despatched Sher-Afgan with their swords.'—*Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 402-3.

among the inmates of his select *harem* (May, 1611). Day by day her influence and dignity increased. First of all she received the title of *Nūr Mahāl*, "Light of the Harem," but was afterwards distinguished by that of *Nūr Jahān Begam*, "Light of the World." All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth.........No grant of lands was conferred upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Nūr Jahān the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name, with this superscription : "By order of the King Jahāngīr, gold had a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Nūr Jahān, the Queen Begam." On all *farmāns* also receiving the Imperial signature, the name "Nūr Jahān, the Queen Begam," was jointly attached. At last her authority reached such a pass that the King was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nūr Jahān Begam, and would say, "I require nothing beyond a *sīr* of wine and half a *sīr* of meat." It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression ; and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned.'[1]

Controversy.

Plain and unvarnished as this tale is, there has been a great controversy over the alleged crime of Jahāngīr. He has been charged with the murder of Sher-Afgan, which he is believed to have brought about in order to marry Mihrunnīsa. It is said, on the strength of various legends, including a statement in De Laet who says that Jahāngīr was in love with Mihrunnīsa "when she was still a maiden, during the life-time of Achabar (Akbar) but she had already been betrothed to the Turk Cheer Affeghan (Sher-Afgan), and hence his father would not allow him to marry her, although he never entirely lost his love for her."[2] But Dr. Beni Prasad has very ably made out a case acquitting Jahāngīr, which seems quite plausible. "An attentive study of contemporary authorities," he contends, "and of the well-established facts themselves knocks the bottom out of the whole romance, and the characters of Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān appear in a truer and more favourable light." His main line of argument may be briefly stated thus :

1. Ibid., pp. 403-5.
2. Hoyland and Banerjee, p. 181.

(*a*) No contemporary chronicler has made the charge against the Emperor.

(*b*) Even the chroniclers of Shāh Jahān's reign, who had antipathies towards Nūr Jahān, do not as much as hint at it.

(*c*) Contemporary European writers, although they record many another Court scandal, hardly impute the crime to Jahāngīr.

(*d*) If Jahāngīr had been early in love with Mihrunnīsa, Akbar would not have appointed Sher-Afgan in the service of Salīm, and the latter would not, under such circumstances, have promoted his rival in love.

(*e*) Nūr Jahān, from her known character, would not have submitted to the yoke of her husband's assassin ; on the contrary there is reason to believe she sincerely reciprocated Jahāngīr's passionate love for her.[1]

Dr. Ishwari Prasad's criticism of this is rather weak and unconvincing : "The improbabilities of the story itself, on which he (Beni Prasad) dwells at length", he writes, "are of little value in helping us to form a correct judgment. The evidence of the emperor's innocence adduced by Dr. Beni Prasad is of a negative character, and we cannot lightly brush aside the positive assertions of later historians, who were in a better position to state the truth in a matter like this than their predecessors. There are other considerations which militate against the theory of innocence." These are according to him :—

(*a*) On mere suspicion the Emperor need not have authorised Kutbu-d dīn to punish Sher-Afgan ; "the cause of the royal displeasure was not even communicated to him."

(*b*) Jahāngīr, "who is usually so frank," does not say a word on this incident, "for the obvious reason that no man would relate scandals about himself."

(*c*) Jahāngīr's silence about his marriage, "the most momentous event in his career, is wholly unintelligible."

(*d*) "His account of Sher Afgan's death is entirely devoid of a mention of Nūr Jahān."

(*e*) Why were not Mihrunnīsa and her daughter entrusted to the care of her father Itimādu-d daula? Why were they kept at Court?

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1. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 176-82.

(*f*) Finally, against the possible question why the impetuous lover did not marry her all at once, but waited for four long years, he answers that, Jahāngīr did not or could not marry all at once, because of the widow's natural dislike on the one hand, and Jahāngīr's desire to allay suspicion, on the other.

But after all, he concludes with the observation, "A careful perusal of contemporary chronicles leaves upon our minds the impression that the circumstances of Sher Afgan's death are of a highly suspicious nature, *although there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the emperor was guilty of the crime.*"[1]

The Junta :

The rise of Nūr Jahān led to a reshuffling of the political equation within the Empire. Her relations, particularly her father Itimādu-d daula, and her brother Asaf Khān, came into prominence as much by her influence as by their own undoubted personal abilities. The merits of the former have already been described. From 1611, the year of Nūr Jahān's marriage, to 1619, he had steadily risen in power and position, until he ranked only next to Prince Khurram. From the rank of 2000+500 in 1611, he had risen to 7000+5000 in 1616, and 7000+7000 in 1619. Asaf Khān also similarly rose from 500+100 up to 1611, to 5000+3000 in 1616, and 6000+6000 in 1622. He was an accomplished man of letters, as well as a man of political and administrative craft. Dr. Beni Prasad says, "As a financier, he stood unsurpassed in the Mughal empire."[2] The marriage of his daughter, Arjumand Banu Begam, with Prince Khurram, in 1612, undoubtedly heightened his prestige as well as power. This Prince, both by circumstance and ability, was marked out to be the heir-apparent. His services to the Empire have already been described in detail, up to his revolt on the eve of the Kandahār campaign in 1621. Mewār, Ahmednagar, Kāngra, proclaimed his glory to the four corners of the Empire. He had now been raised to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *Zāt* and 20,000 *Sawār*, with the additional title of *Shāh Jahān*, and the *jāgīr* of Hisar Fīroza.

Speaking of the political importance of the marriage of the niece of Nūr Jahān with Prince Khurram, Dr. Beni Prasad observes, "It symbolised the alliance of Nūr Jahān, Itimādu-d daula and

1. Ishwari Prasad, op. cit., pp. 493-96.
2. *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 187.

Asaf Khān with the heir apparent. For the next ten years this clique of four supremely capable persons practically ruled the empire. What has been called Nūr Jahān's sway is really the sway of these four personages."[1]

The period of Nūr Jahān's influence is usually considered in two divisions: (i) 1611-22, when her parents were still alive and exercised a wholesome restraint upon her ambitions; and (ii) 1622-27, when Jahāngīr himself was more or less an invalid, and full vent was given to party strife and faction. In the first period also, Khurram and Nūr Jahān were in alliance; in the second, they were antagonistic to each other. The marriage of Shahriyār (born 1605) with Nūr Jahān's daughter by Sher-Afgan, Ladli Begam, in 1620, introduced a fresh complication.

Under these circumstances, the division of the Court into parties was inevitable. At first, there were only two: the junta and its opponents; later, when the junta itself broke up, there were more. Mahābat Khān throughout played an important rôle as an indefatigable opponent of the *parvenus*, as he considered Nūr Jahān's relations, and those whom she had exalted. In other words, he stood forth as the champion of the older nobility, and at one time went to the extent of advising the Emperor against the party in power. The author of the *Intikhāb-i Jahāngīr-Shāhī* says,

'At this time the influence of Nūr Jahān Begam had attained such a height that the entire management of the Empire was entrusted to her hands. Mahābat Khān thought proper therefore to represent as follows: That to His Majesty and all the world it is well known that this servant Mahābat Khān was brought up only by His Majesty, and *that he has no concern with anybody else.* Everyone knows that Mahābat Khān presumes much upon His Majesty's kindness; *and he now begs truly and faithfully to represent what he thinks proper, instigated by his loyalty, and for the sake of His Majesty's good name..... The whole world is surprised that such a wise and sensible Emperor as Jahāngīr should permit a woman to have so great an influence over him.........* He also added, that in his opinion, it was now very advisable to liberate Prince Khūsrū from prison, and deliver him to one of the confidential servants of the throne......... His Majesty should reflect that affairs had now assumed a new aspect, and the safety of His Majesty's person, and the tranquillity and peace of the country seem to depend upon the life of the Prince.'

It is clear from this passage that Mahābat Khān also championed the cause of the popular and pathetic Prince Khūsrū, adding

1. Ibid., p. 191.

another candidate to the party-struggle that was brewing at the Court. But his bold counsel appears to have been taken all in good part by the Emperor, though its effect was ephemeral. The writer above cited closes with the observation, 'The Emperor acted in some measure upon the advice of Mahābat Khān, till he arrived in Kashmir; but the influence of Nūr Jahān Begam had wrought so much upon his mind, that if 200 men like Mahābat Khān had advised him simultaneously to the same effect, their words would have made no permanent impression upon him.'[1]

With such candour Mahābat Khān could not expect to get on well at Court in opposition to the junta. From 1605-10 he had risen from 1500 to 4000+3500 in his rank. Then came Nūr Jahān. Till 1622 he received no promotion whatsoever. On the contrary he was driven from the Deccan to the frontiers of Afghanistan, wherever the most strenuous service was needed. For such a one to stand up for the unfortunate Prince Khūsrū was to spoil his case. Though Jahāngīr for a time relented towards his eldest born, and allowed him some liberty, the junta contrived to undo him. Shāh Jahān was then in the good books of Nūr Jahān. Lest the prospects of the younger (Shāh Jahān) should be suddenly marred by some whimsical turn in the Emperor's affection, they contrived to transfer the prisoner, at first to Asaf Khān's custody, and thence to Shāh Jahān's. The latter, in utter disregard of all human feeling, got his eldest brother out of the way by methods in which Mughal princes were becoming more and more adept. Before he would proceed on service in the Deccan, in 1620, Shāh Jahān insisted on taking his ill-starred brother with him. In January 1622 Jahāngīr received a report from Shāh Jahān, writing from Burhānpur, that Khūsrū died of a colic!

De Laet gives the following description of this strange 'colic':—

"Xa—Ziaham (Shāh Jahān), who was at Brampore (Burhānpur), and was acting as the jailor to his brother Gousrou (Khūsrū), began to make a plot whereby he might be able to get rid of his brother without incurring the suspicion of having murdered him. He took into his confidence Ganganna (Khān Khānan) and his most faithful Omerau, and then departed on a hunting expedition. His slave Reza, who had been commissioned to commit the crime, knocked at dead of night upon the door of prince Gousrou's bedroom, pretending that he and the companions whom he had brought with him were the bearers of robes and letters

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 451-52.

from the King, and that they had instructions to set the prince at liberty. The prince did not believe this story. However, Reza broke open the door, struck down the prince, who was unarmed, strangled him, placed his corpse back on his bed, and shut the door once more......

"Xa-Ziahan returned to the city, and sent letters to his father announcing his brother's death......On receiving the news the king mourned deeply for the death of his son....He summoned the father-in-law of Gousrou, Ghan Asem (Khan-i Azam), condoled with him, and committed to his charge his grandson Sultan Bolachi (Bulaqi, who was made a commander of 10,000 horse) in order that he may be responsible for his education."[1]

Khūsrū's body had been hastily buried at Burhānpūr in May 1622. At Jahāngīr's desire it was disinterred and carried to Agra in June 1622, whence it was taken to Allahabad, there to be deposited by the side of his mother's tomb in Khuldābād (now known as Khūsrū Bāgh). "His figure," observes V. A. Smith, "shadowy though it be, is one of the most interesting and pathetic in Indian history."[1]

Meanwhile, Jahāngīr's health was failing. Repeated visits to Kashmir and other health-resorts, the treatment of distinguished physicians, and the affectionate and wholesome attentions of Nūr Jahān, did him little good. Though he continued to live till 1627, it was already certain that he had played out his part. Effective power must now pass on to other hands. More than anybody else, both Nūr Jahān and Shāh Jahān were keenly aware of the possible developments, and as Beni Prasad puts it, "In a single empire there was no room for two such masterful spirits as Nūr Jahān and Shāh Jahān." She therefore cast about for a more pliant instrument, and found one ready in Shahriyār the *Nashudani* (good for nothing). "The tender age (16), docile nature, feeble mind, and imbecile character of Shahriyār marked him out as the proper instrument for a masterful lady."[2] His marriage with Nūr Jahān's daughter (1620-1) has already been mentioned. At this time also Nūr Jahān lost the wise direction and the restraining influence of both her parents who died one after another in 1621, and 1622. The time had evidently come for a re-shuffling in the political arena.

The spirited and ambitious Shāh Jahān saw clearly that his chance lay in vigorous action. That is why, in 1621, he refused to

1. Hoyland and Banerjee, pp. 198-99. For a discussion on this incident see Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 331-34.
1. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 376.
2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 318.

be diverted into the futile Afghan campaign; that is why also he got rid of his possible rival Khūsrū in 1622; and finally, that was also the reason for his sudden rebellion in the Deccan. It was more than evident that Jahāngīr had come to know of his perfidious conduct towards Khūsrū; it was more likely that Nūr Jahān would press for Shahriyār's candidature. On Shāh Jahān's refusal to go to the frontier (a reasonable occasion to embroil the Emperor with him), she had put Shahriyār in command, and on his failure had also invited Sultan Parvīz (Jahāngīr's second son) from Bihar, where he was governor. Civil war became thus inevitable.

CIVIL WAR:

(a) Shāh Jahān's Revolt.

The details of this revolt are of little interest. But Jahāngīr's lament over it is worth citation on account of its pathos:

Intelligence now arrived,' he says, 'that Khurram had seized upon some of the *jāgīrs* of Nūr Jahān Begam and Prince Shahariyār. . . .I have been offended by his delaying at the fort of Māndū, and by his improper and foolish statements in his letters, and I had perceived by his insolence that his mind was estranged. Upon hearing of this further intelligence, I saw that, notwithstanding all the favour and kindness I had shown him, his mind was perverted. I accordingly sent Rājā Roz-afzum, one of my oldest servants, to inquire into the reasons of this boldness and presumption. I also sent him a *farmān*, directing him to attend to his own affairs, and not to depart from the strict line of the duty. He was to be content with the *jāgīrs* that had been bestowed upon him from the Imperial Exchequer. I warned him not to come to me, but to send all the troops which had been required from him for the campaign against Kandahār.[1] If he acted contrary to my commands, he would afterwards have to repent.......Letters arrived from Itibār Khān and other of my officers whom I had left at Agra, stating that Khurram persisted in his perverse course, and preferring the way of disobedience to the path of duty, had taken a decided step on the road to perdition by marching upon Agra....A letter from Asaf Khān also arrived, stating that this ungrateful son had torn away the veil of decency, and had broken into open rebellion; that he (Asaf Khān) had received no certain intelligence of his movements, so, not considering it expedient to move the treasure, he had set out alone to join me.

'On receiving this intelligence, I crossed the river at Sultānpūr, and

1. Jahāngīr was exasperated by the temerity of Shāh Abbās, to which reference had been made. He felt therefore goaded to try conclusions with the insolent Shāh of Persia. But Shāh Jahān's conduct put an end to all such schemes.

marched to inflict punishment on this ill-starred son (*Siyahbakht*). I issued an order that from this time forth he should be called "wretch" (*be doulat*)....The pen cannot describe all that I have done for him, nor can I recount my own grief, or mention the anguish and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, which is so injurious to my health, especially during these journeys and marchings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him who is no longer my son. Many nobles, too, who have been long disciplined under me, and would now have been available against the Uzbecks and the Kazilbashes have through this perfidy, met with their due punishment. May God in His mercy enable me to bear up against all these calamities! What is most grievous for me to bear is this, that this is the very time when my sons and nobles should have emulated each other in recovering Kandahār and Khurasan, the loss of which so deeply affects the honour of this Empire, and to effect which this "wretch" is the only obstacle, so that the invasion of Kandahār is indefinitely postponed. I trust in God that I may be shortly relieved of this anxiety!

'On the 1st *Isfandarmuz*, I received a letter from Itibār Khān, informing me that the rebel had advanced with all speed to the neighbourhood of Agra, my capital, in the hope of getting possession of it before it could be put in a state of preparation. On reaching Fatehpur, he found that his hope was vain, so he remained there. He was accompanied by Khān-Khānan (Mīrzā Abdur Rahman Khān) and his son; and by many other *amīrs* who held office in the Dakhin and in Gujarat, and had now entered the path of rebellion and perfidy.... The rebels took nine *lacs* of rupees from the house of Lashkar Khān, and everywhere they seized upon whatever they found serviceable in the possession of my adherents. Khān-Khānan who had held the exalted dignity of being my tutor, had now turned rebel, and in the 70th year of his age had blackened his face with ingratitude. But he was by nature a rebel and traitor. His father (Bairam Khān), at the close of his days, had acted in the same shameful way towards my revered father. He had but followed the course of his father, and disgraced himself in his old age—

"The wolf's whelp will grow a wolf,
E'en though reared with man himself."

'After I had passed through Sirhind, troops came flocking from all directions, and by the time I reached Delhi, such an army had assembled, that the whole country was covered with men as far as the eye could reach. Upon being informed that the rebel had advanced from Fatehpūr, I marched to Delhi.'[1]

The remaining events may be briefly narrated. The rebels were defeated at Balochpūr, to the south of Delhi (1623), and Shāh Jahān at first retired into Mālwa and thence into the Deccan. He sought in vain the help of Malik Ambar, and then fled to Bengal

1. *Wāqiāt-i-Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 383-85.

via Telingāna. He occupied Bihar and captured the great fortress of Rohtas. But at Allahabad, found the Imperial officers too alert (1624). Again he came back to the Deccan with better hopes of gaining support from Malik Ambar. He did form an alliance with him against Mahābat Khān who had sided with Bijapur as already stated. In 1625, however, he was seized with an illness. 'The error of his conduct,' as Muhammad Hādī puts it, 'now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expressing his sorrow and repentance, and begging pardon for all faults past and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hand, (March 1626) to the effect that if he would send his sons Dārā Shikoh and Aurangzeb to Court, and would surrender Rohtas and the fortress of Asīr, which were held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Bālāghāt should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this Shāh Jahān deemed it his duty to conform to his father's wishes; so, notwithstanding the love he had for his sons, he sent them to his father, with offerings of jewels, chased arms, elephants, etc., to the value of 10 *lacs* of rupees.' He wrote to Muzafar Khān directing him to surrender Rohtas to the person appointed by the Emperor and then to come with Sultān Murād Baksh. He also wrote to Hayāt Khān directions for surrendering Asīr to the Imperial officers. Shāh Jahān then proceeded to Nāsik.[1]

Thus ended the futile rebellion after three years of bloodshed and wastage in men and money, to nobody's advantage but the considerable distraction and weakening of the Empire. The victories of the Imperial forces, had been mainly due to the exertions of indefatigable Mahābat Khān, acting in unison with Prince Parvīz. But his success was his undoing. Nūr Jahān was watching with jealousy his increasing power and prestige. She could brook nobody's rise within the Empire. His association with Prince Parvīz was particularly dangerous in her eyes. She, therefore, set about humiliating Mahābat Khān, and in the result, again plunged the country in civil war.

(b) Mahābat Khān's Coup.

Mahābat Khān and Prince Parvīz were together in the Deccan at Burhānpūr. Nūr Jahān's first stunt was to separate the two. So Mahābat was appointed

1. *Tatima-i Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., p. 396.

Governor of Bengal, and his place with Parvīz was to be taken by Khān Jahān. But the Prince was unwilling to part with the general who had become the prop of all his hopes. Parvīz was the eldest son of the Emperor, now alive, and since the discomfiture of Shāh Jahān he had built definite hopes of succeeding to his father. Nevertheless, the Empress Begam was equally determined to have her own way. So a peremptory *farmān* came from the Imperial headquarters ordering Mahābat Khān either to proceed to Bengal or to come to the Court at once. He chose the latter course, but marched with 4,000 seasoned Rajputs. Meantime various malicious charges had been framed against Mahābat Khān, impunging his personal integrity : 'Mahābat Khān,' it was said, 'had not as yet sent to Court the elephants obtained in Bengal, and he had realized large sums of money due to the State, and also from *jāgīrs*.' What was more ridiculous, 'Mahābat Khān had, without the royal permission, affianced his daughter to the son of Khwāja Umar Nakshabandī. The Emperor made a great noise about this. He sent for the young man, and having treated him with great insult and harshness, he gave orders for binding his hands to his neck, and for taking him bare-headed to prison. Fidai Khān was directed to seize what Mahābat Khān had given to the youth, and place it in the Imperial treasury.'[1]

Mahābat Khān was not the man to put up with these calculated affronts. The Emperor at that time had just come from Kashmir, and was about to start for Kabul, with Nūr Jahān, Asaf Khān, and all his Court. The abiding place of the Emperor was on the bank of the river Behat, and Asaf Khān, notwithstanding the presence of such a brave and daring enemy, was so heedless of his master's safety, that he left him on that side of the river, while he passed over the bridge to the other side, with the children and women, and the attendants and the officers. He sent over also the baggage, the treasury, the arms, etc., even to the very domestics.

'Mahābat Khān perceived that his life and honour were at stake, and that he had no resource, for he had not a single friend left near the Emperor. With 4,000 or 5,000 Rajputs who had sworn fidelity to him, he proceeded to the head of the bridge. There he left nearly 2,000 horsemen to hold it, and to burn the bridge rather than allow

1. *Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 419-20.

any one to pass over. Mahābat Khān, then proceeded to the royal quarters.'

Here, Mutamad Khān, who was present in Jahāngīr's camp at the moment, gives further details of how Mahābat Khān proceeded to take possession of the Emperor ; throughout he acted with great caution and strength, but never disrespectfully towards Jahāngīr. To proceed with Mutamad's account :

'The servants who were in attendance on His Majesty informed him of this daring action. The Emperor then came out, and took his seat in a *pālki* which was in waiting for him. Mahābat Khān advanced respectfully to the door of the *Pālki*, and said, "I have assured myself that escape from the malice and implacable hatred of Asaf Khān is impossible, and that I shall be put to death in shame and ignominy. I have therefore boldly and presumptuously thrown myself upon Your Majesty's protection. If I deserve death or punishment, give the order that I may suffer it in your presence."

'The armed Rajputs now flocked in, and surrounded the royal apartments. There was no one with His Majesty but Arab Dast-ghaib, ...and a few other attendants. The violent entrance of the faithless dog [meaning Mahābat Khān] had alarmed and enraged His Majesty, so he twice placed his hand on his sword to cleanse the world from the filthy existence of that foul dog. But each time Mansūr Badakhshī said, "This is a time for fortitude, leave the punishment of this wicked faithless fellow to a just God : a day of retribution will come." His words seemed prudent, so His Majesty restrained himself. In a short time the Rajputs occupied the royal apartments within and without, so that no one but the servants could approach his Majesty.'[1]

Having thus secured the Emperor, Mahābat Khān realised that he ought not to allow his powerful enemies to escape. Nūr Jahān thought at first that Jahāngīr had gone a-hunting ; but when she came to know of the real situation, she summoned the chief nobles, including her brother Asaf Khān, and addressed them in reproachful terms. "This," she said, "has all happened through your neglect and stupid arrangements. What never entered the imagination of any one has come to pass, and now you stand stricken with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil, and advise what course to pursue."

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1. *Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 419-22.

With one mind and one voice they all advised that on the morrow the forces should be drawn out, and that they should pass over the river with her to defeat the rebel and deliver His Majesty. The attempt proved unsuccessful in spite of the great heroism displayed by Nūr Jahān. Mutamad graphically describes the scene : Horsemen and footmen, horses, camels, and carriages, were in the midst of the river, jostling each other, and pressing to the opposite shore ....Seven or eight hundred Rajputs, with a number of war-elephants in their front, occupied the opposite shore in firm array. Some of our men, horse and foot, approached the bank, in a broken and disordered condition. The enemy pushed forward their elephants, and the horsemen came from the rear, dashed into the water, and plied their swords. Our handful of men, being without leaders, turned and fled, and the swords of the enemy tinged the water with their blood. The Begam Nūr Jahān had in her litter the daughter of Shahriyār, whose *anka* (or nurse) was the daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān. The *anka* received an arrow in her arm, and the Begam herself pulled it out, staining her garments with blood. The elephant on which the Begam was riding received two sword-cuts on the trunk ; and when he turned round, he was wounded three times behind with spears. The Rajputs rushed after him with their drawn swords, and his drivers urged him on into the deep water. The horsemen then had to swim, and becoming afraid of being drowned, they turned back. The elephant swam to shore, and the Begam proceeded to the royal abode........Asaf Khān, who was the cause of this disaster, and whose folly and rashness had brought matters to this pass, when he found that he could make no longer any resistance to Mahābat Khān, fled with his son Abu Talib, and 200 or 300 horse, *bargirs*, and servants, to the fort of Atak, which was in his *jāgīr*, and closed the fortress...........Mahābat Khān sent a large party of the royal *ahadis* (guards), with some of his own followers, and the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood, under the command of his son Bihroz and a Rajput, to invest Atak. They reduced the fort, and Asaf Khān bowed to Fate, and bound himself by promise and oath to uphold Mahābat."[1]

By this bold *coup de main*, Mahābat Khān had secured possession of all the important personages in the Empire and become the virtual dictator. But it is very strange that within a very short

1. Ibid., pp. 422-28.

time the tables should have been turned against him. It was entirely due to the cleverness and diplomacy of Nūr Jahān. Our historian says, 'Nūr Jahān Begam worked against him both in private and in public. She maintained a number of followers, and attached them to herself by money and promises. In time Hushiar Khān, her eunuch, in compliance with her letters, got together about 2,000 men in Lahore, and proceeded to meet her. A considerable number of men had also got together round the royal escort.'

The exact details of the reversal are rather obscure. Our Chronicler only says, 'His Majesty determined to hold a review of the cavalry. He gave orders that all the soldiers, old and new, should form in two lines, from the royal abode as far as they would extend. He then directed Buland Khān, one of his attendants, to go to Mahābat Khān, and tell him that His Majesty was holding a review of the Begam's troops that day. It would be better therefore for him to postpone the usual parade of the first day, lest words should pass between the two parties and strife ensue. After Buland Khān, he sent Khwāja Abul Hasan to enforce his wish more strongly, and to urge Mahābat to go on a stage. The Khwāja, by cogent reasons, prevailed upon him; and, casting off all insolence and improper exercise of power, he went on first. His Majesty followed close after, and making no stay at the first stage, he made two stages into one, and passed over the river to Rohtas, where he found a Court ready to receive him.'[1] Mahābat Khān does not seem to have been so naive a fellow as to be taken in so easily. The fact appears to be that he had acted too deferentially towards his Imperial prisoners from the very start; this gave them the necessary opportunity to make the utmost of their royal prestige. Besides, Mahābat Khān, in the face of the jealousy he evoked in the hearts of the other nobles by his sudden and unexpected success, could not hope to hold on for long. If he had near him some prince of the Imperial family, he might have rallied round him forces that now he had no chance of invoking. His *coup* was the result of a sudden impulse that had occurred to him on the spur of the moment, carried out mainly as a measure of self-defence. He had neither the heart nor the resources to carry it through to its logical conclusion, viz., a revolution. He was not another Sher Khān driving out the Emperor into exile, and establishing his own dynasty; he was a

1. Ibid., p. 430.

loyal servant trying to create an impression by means of a stratagem. So, when Majesty recovered itself he recoiled and mechanically carried out its behests.

These events happened in 1626. Meanwhile Shāh Jahān had proceeded to Thatta, to fish in troubled waters, and failing all, to go to Persia with a view to recovering his lost position with the assistance of Shāh Abbās. But owing to the difficulties he met with on the way, and his own illness, he determined to return to the Deccan. 'Being weak and ill,' writes Mutamad, 'he was obliged to travel in a *pālki*. He now received intelligence of the death of Prince Parvīz[1] (Oct. 28, 1626), and this hastened his movements. He pursued the route which Mahmūd of Ghaznā had taken when he plundered Somrāth. Passing by Rajpipliya, he arrived at Nāsik Tirbang (Trimbak) in the Dakhin, where he had left his stores and equipage........At this time (also) died, in the seventy second year of his age, Khān-Khānan, son of Bairam Khān, one of the greatest nobles of the late Emperor Akbar, who had rendered honourable services and gained important victories.'[2]

Mahābat Khān had been ordered to release Asaf Khān and others, and to march against Shāh Jahān in Thatta. He chose instead to join forces with the disappointed Prince. Mutamad says, 'He concealed himself for some time in the hills of the Rāṇā's country,' and then sent persons to Shāh Jahān to express contrition. The Prince received his apologies kindly, called him to his presence, and treated him with great favour and kindness.'[3]

Death of Jahāngīr.

Alarmed at this dangerous combination, Nūr Jahān was preparing to suppress them, when the illness and death of Jahāngīr, on Oct. 28, 1627, changed the whole aspect of affairs. The Emperor had been ill in Kashmir. 'He was unable to ride on horse-back, but was carried about in a *pālki*. His sufferings were great .... He lost all appetite for food. and rejected opium, which had been his companion for forty years. He took nothing but a few cups of the grape.' He then started on his way back to Lahore. 'On the way he called for a glass of wine;

1. This death also is ascribed to Shāh Jahān's poisoning, on the strength of a later accusation by Aurangzeb; see Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 418 n. 9.
2. Ibid., pp. 433-34.
3. E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 434.

but when it was placed to his lips, he was unable to swallow. Towards night he grew worse, and died early on the following day, the 28th Safar, 1037, A. H., in the 22nd year of his reign.'[1]

V. JAHĀNGIR AND THE EUROPEANS

Before we can appreciate the results of Jahāngīr's reign and his character, it is necessary to review briefly his relations with the Europeans who throw ample light upon both. It would be convenient to consider these under three separate heads: (*a*) the Portuguese; (*b*) the Jesuits; and (*c*) the English.

(*a*) The Portuguese.

The Portuguese power in India was definitely on the decline, due to a variety of reasons.[2] Perhaps two important causes of this were their religious intolerance and the absorption of Portugal by Spain, between 1580 and 1640. Other European powers like the Dutch and the English were fast out-stripping them in the East. Particularly, their piratical activities[3] brought them into active conflict with the Mughal Empire.

In spite of Jahāngīr's desire to maintain friendly relations with them, which made him send an embassy to Goa in 1607 and 1610 (under Father Pinheiro and Mukarrab Khān), their audacity became intolerable. In 1613 the Portuguese seized four Imperial vessels containing about three millions worth of goods, near Surat. Since their Viceroy was not amenable to reason, Mukarrab Khān, then Governor of Surat, inflicted a naval defeat on the Portuguese, in alliance with the English sea-captain Downton. This was followed by a very vigorous campaign against the Portuguese settled within the Empire, and the withdrawal of all privileges granted to them previously. The Portuguese, wherever they could be caught hold

1. Ibid., p. 435.
2. See Rev. Heras, *The Decay of Portuguese Power in India*, (Bombay, 1928) pp. 34-40.
3. Prof. Sarkar gives the following description of the horrors perpetrated by the pirates (both native and Feringi) from a contemporary Persian source :—They pierced the hands of their victims, and 'passed thin canes through the holes, and threw them one above another under the deck of their ships. In the same manner as grain is flung to fowl, every morning and evening they threw down from above uncooked rice to the captives as food. On their return to their homes they employed the few hard-lived captives that survived, in tillage and other tasks, according to their power, with great disgrace and insult. Others were sold to the Dutch, English, and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan.' —*Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 123-4.

of, were arrested, and even Father Jerome Xavier was placed under the custody of Mukarrab Khān. The churches at Agra and Lahore were forcibly closed. This brought the Portuguese to their senses, and they soon opened negotiations with the Emperor. Father Xavier was released to discuss peace terms, but the Portuguese proposals were not wholly acceptable to Jahāngīr: prisoners were to be released, the Emperor was to be content with taking the Portuguese property already seized as indemnity, and the Dutch and English were to be excluded from all privileges.[1] However, thanks to the efforts of the Jesuits, harmony was restored between the Portuguese and the Empire in September, 1615.[2] In 1623, when Shāh Jahān, in the course of his rebellion, sought their assistance from Hugli, they refused it, but, on the contrary, they served as gunners in the Imperial army under Ibrāhīm Khān.

(*b*) The Jesuits.

Jahāngīr, as we have seen, had come very early into contact with the Jesuits during his father's lifetime. He had formed a close friendship with Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, head of the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court. During his revolt, as a Prince, when he set up his mock court at Allahabad, he had sought without success a mission from Goa. He had bestowed several favours and gifts, like a silver image of the infant Jesus, upon the Jesuits and their church. He had even worn round his neck a locket containing portraits of the Saviour and the Virgin, marked his letters with Christian symbols, contributed large sums for the erection of churches, and 'exhibited most edifying devotion' towards the Christian faith. The fathers of the Society of Jesus had an 'elegant and commodious' church at Lahore, as well as a *collegium* or 'priests' residence, "a comfortable building equipped with varandhas and upper and lower rooms, suitable respectively for use in the cold and hot seasons. Each department of the mission work had its appropriate and convenient accommodation as in European colleges. At Agra about twenty baptisms took place in 1606, and when Jahāngīr was on his way to Kabul he accepted a Persian version of the Gospels and permitted the Fathers to act publicly with as much liberty as if they were in Europe. When

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1. A copy of this draft, with Fr. Xavier's signature, is said to be in the Goa archives.
2. For the text of treaty see Rev. Heras, *Jahāngīr and the Portuguese* (Report of the 9th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Lucknow, 1926).

the Emperor returned to Agra he took two of the priests with him, leaving one at Lahore to look after the congregation there. Church processions with full Catholic ceremonial were allowed to parade the streets and cash allowances were paid from the treasury for church expenses and the support of the converts."[1]

The most remarkable indication of Jahāngīr's interest in the Jesuits was, perhaps, his permitting them to baptise his own nephews (sons of the late Prince Dāniyāl). "The Princes clothed in Portuguese costume and wearing crosses of gold round their necks, proceeded on elephants from the palace to the church through streets packed with eager spectators. A large cortège from the Court accompanied them and some sixty Christians—including Poles, Venetians and Armenians—joined the procession on horseback. Even the Englishman, Hawkins, who was then in Agra, put aside his Protestant prepossessions for the day and rode at the head of the procession with St. George's flag carried before him 'to the honour of the English nation.' At the church the Princes were received with every sign of rejoicing and the bell was rung with such violence that it broke. The ceremony itself was impressive and the demeanour of the Princes brought tears to the eyes of the spectators. When baptized, they were given, as was then the practice, new names of a European complexion."[2] King Phillip III of Spain received these tidings with great enthusiasm, and personally addressed a letter to Jahāngīr thanking him for his friendliness towards the Christians. But after all this fuss, in five years' time the Princes 'gave their crucifixes again to the Jesuits' i.e. abjured their Christian faith, and in the words of a Jesuit writer, 'rejected the light and returned to the vomit.'[3]

After the death of Father Xavier in 1617, and of Pinheiro in the following year, their places were taken by Fathers Corsi and Joseph de Castro. In addition to their evangelical work they were in the position of an 'agent for the Portugals.' The former has been described as 'a great column of the Mission,' and both had unique opportunities of coming into close contact with the Emperor. Corsi first came to Agra in 1604, and de Castro ten years later. The former died at the capital in 1635; the latter at Lahore, in 1646.

1. Smith, *O. H.*, pp. 377-78; *Akbar*, pp. 261, 291-2. Rs. 10 a day were paid to Fr. Xavier and smaller sums to others.
2. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Grand Moghul*, pp. 72-3.
3. Ibid., p. 74.

Although both of them were Italians, their political activities were directed towards furthering the interests of the Portuguese at Court as against those of the English. Sir Thomas Roe, who arrived in India in September 1615, in a letter written a year later, describes, 'how the Portugals have crept into this kingdome and by what corners they gott in ; the entrance of the Jesuits, their entertainment, priviledges, practises, ends and the growth of their church, where of they sing in Europe so loud prayses and glorious successes.' In spite of his obvious Protestant bias and opposing political interests, mutual relations between Roe and Corsi were, according to Sir Edward Maclagan, good and creditable to both.[1]

(*c*) The English.

The first Englishman to appear before Jahāngīr was Captain William Hawkins, who arrived at Surat (in his ship *Hector*) in August, 1608, with a letter from James I, King of Great Britain, asking for trade facilities.[2] He brought with him a gift of 25,000 gold pieces, and was well received by the Emperor (April 1609), in spite of the opposition of the Jesuit Father Pinheiro who represented Portuguese interests at the Mughal Court. Hawkins could speak Tūrkī and Persian and hence needed no interpreter. The bitter hostility that existed between the English and the Portuguese, on account of their rivalry at Jahāngīr's Court, is clearly discernible in the statements of Hawkins. He alleges that Father Pinheiro had bribed Mukarrab Khān to kidnap him (Hawkins), and that he had described England as a dependency of Portugal. 'The Jesuits here,' he writes from Agra (1609), 'do little regard their masses and their church matters for studying how to overthrow my affairs.' Finally, he calls them 'madde dogges, labouring to work my passage out of the world,' and says that they had to be warned by the Emperor, that if aught happened to Hawkins, they would be held responsible. When a Protestant follower of Hawkins died at Agra, the Jesuits refused to allow him to be buried in the Christian cemetery. When Hawkins married an

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1. Ibid., pp. 85-6.
2. 'It was a singular situation,' observes Lane-Poole, for a bluff sea-captain to find himself, in an unknown land, called upon to meet a great emperor about whom absolutely nothing was known in England. There was nothing to suggest the most distant dream that in two centuries and a half the slight introduction Hawkins was then effecting between England and India would culminate in the sovereignty of a British Queen over the whole empire where the "Light of the World" and her imperial husband then reigned.' *Medieval India*, pp. 299-300.
1. Ibid., p. 79.

Armenian Christian lady, 'to avoid being poisoned,' they declined to perform the ceremony unless he acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope.[1] Later, however, their relations, slightly improved. But, none the less, when Hawkins left India, in 1611, in disgust, his mission had been thoroughly discredited on account of the Jesuits, and Father Xavier represented that some ultramontane heretics had attempted to disturb the happy progress of the Catholic faith in Mogor, but that the King on discovering their perfidy had banished them from the country.'[1]

The next Englishman of note to appear at the Court of Jahāngīr was one Paul Canning, who too appears to have come to Agra (1612) with a further letter from King James. His experience was no better than that of his predecessor. English accounts still speak of 'those prattling, juggling Jesuits' and their great influence at the Court. 'The lying Jesuits,' we are told, were 'feeding the king daily with presents and strange toys,' and poisoning his mind against the English. But the strained relations between the Empire and the Portuguese, to which reference has already been made, changed the whole situation for the time being (1613-15). The Jesuits with the Portuguese stood thoroughly discredited. It was at this time, when they were still 'in deep disgrace with the king and people,' that the third English 'ambassador,' William Edwards came from Surat (1615) also with a letter from King James. But the most important and the most famous of the English representatives was Sir Thomas Roe. Smith describes him as 'a gentleman of good education, a polished courtier, and trained diplomatist, well qualified for the task assigned to him, which was the negotiation of a treaty giving security to English trade.'[2] He was accompanied (since

1. Ibid., p. 80.
2. 'Roe had come to complete what Hawkins had only partly succeeded in effecting. The English agents and traders were still in a humiliating situation, subject to all kinds of indignities, possessing no recognised or valid rights, and obliged to sue and bribe for such slight facilities as they could win. Their chiefs, the agents of the East India Company, had brought scorn upon their nation by "Kotowing" the Moghal dignitaries cringing to insult, asserting no trace of dignity; and had even "suffered Blows of the porters, base Peons, and beene thrust out by them with much scorne by haed and shoulders without seeking satisfaction." Englishmen were flouted, robbed, arrested, even whipped in the streets. It was evident that a different manner of man (than Hawkins or Edwards- was needed to retrieve the indignity done to our name and honour.'—Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 305-6; Sir Roe, according to the Directors of the E. I. Co., was a man 'of a pregnant understanding, well spoken, learned, industrious and of a comely personage.

1616) by his chaplain Terry, whose account 'is far superior to that of Roe, as a description of the country and Government.'[1] He too met with difficulties similar to those of his predecessors : "when he had hopes of a speedy decision on his request, Roe found objections raised at the last moment 'a jesuitical bone' as he said, 'cast in overnight.'[2] His own draft of the treaty he wanted to negotiate provided for the free access of the English to all ports belonging to the Great Mughal, including those of Bengal and Sind, and the free passage of their goods without payment of any duty beyond the usual customs ; they were to be allowed to buy and sell freely, to rent factories, to hire boats and carts, and to buy provisions at the usual rates ; while other articles directed against the confiscation of the effects of deceased factors, the obnoxious claims to search the persons of the merchants on going ashore, the opening of presents intended for the King, delays in the custom-house and other similar abuses. On the part of the English, Roe was willing to engage that they should not molest the ships of other nations, 'except the enemies of the said English, or any other that shall seek to injure them,' and that their factors while residing ashore, should 'behave themselves peaceably and civilly,' that they should do their best to procure rareties for the Great Mughal, and should furnish him (upon payment) with any goods or furnisher of war that he could reasonbly desire, and that they should assist him against 'any enemy to the common peace.' The Portuguese were to be admitted to 'enter into the said peace and league,' should they be willing, but if they did not do so within six months, the English were to be permitted to treat them as enemies and make war upon them at sea, 'without any offence to the said Great King of India'."[3] Roe did not succeed in this, though he remained in India for over three years and went about with Jahāngīr in his southern tour (Māndū and Ahmadābād), and finally left India on February 17, 1619. He had arrived at Surat (Swally Road) on September 18, 1615. Although his mission was a failure he has

1. Smith, *O. H.*, pp. 382-83.
2. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 85.
3. Foster (Introd., xx-xxi), cited by Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 248-49.
4. Roe wrote : 'Neyther will this overgrowne Eliphant (Mughal Emperor) descend to Article or bynde himself reciprocally to any Prince upon terms of Equality, but only by way of favour admit our stay.' All that Jahāngīr could assure him was 'you shall be sure of as much priviledge as any stranger.' The ambassador says of the Mughal officials : 'their Justice is generallie good to strangers ; they are not, rigorous, except

recorded with grace the manner of his reception as well as departure from the Great Mughal. 'I had required, before my going,' he writes, 'leave to use the customs of my country, *which was freely granted,* so that I would perform them punctually. When I entered within the first rail, I made a reverence; entering in the inward rail, another; and when I came under the King, a third. The place is a great court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little gallery overhead; ambassadors, the great men and strangers of equality, within the innermost rail under him, raised from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silk, underfoot laid with gold carpets, the meaner men representing gentry, within the first rail, the people without, in a base court, but so that all may see the King. This setting out hath so much affinity with a theatre, the manner of the King in his gallery; the great men lifted on a stage, as actors, the vulgar gazing on, that an easy description will inform of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull interpreter, welcoming me to the brother of my master. I delivered His Majesty's letter translated; and after my commission, whereon he looked curiously, after my presents which were well received. He asked some questions; and, with a seeming care of my health [Roe had just recovered from an illness], offered me his physicians, and advising me to keep my house till I had recovered strength, and if, in the interim, I needed anything, I should freely send him and obtain my desires. *He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace* if by the Christians I were not flattered, *than ever was shown to any ambassador either of the Turk or Persian or other whatsoever.*'

VI. SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF JAHĀNGĪR

The character and achievements of Jahāngīr are more difficult to assess than those of any of his predecessors or successors. He

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in searching for things to please, and what trouble we have is for hope of them, and by our own disorders.' He warned the Company: 'A war and trafique are incompatible. By my consent, you shall no way engage yourselves but at sea, where you are like to gayne as often as to loose. It is the beggaring of the Portugale, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territoryes, that he keepes souldiers that spends it; yet his garrisons are meane. He never profited by the Indyes since he defended them. Observe this well. It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek Plantation here by the sword. They have a woonderful stocke, they proule in all Places, they Posses some of the best; yet ther dead Payes Consume all the gayne. Lett this bee received as a rule that if you will Profitt, seek it at Sea, and in quiett trade; for without controversy it is an error to affect garrisons and Land warrs in India.'

was indeed, as Vincent Smith has characterised him, 'a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness.' But, if a balance were to be struck, between the credit and debit side of his life, there is little doubt, his assets were far greater than his liabilities. To enter upon a detailed discussion of this subject would take us far beyond our limits ; but the reader will not find it difficult to draw illustrative material from what has been said already and what follows. Jahāngīr's love of ease, his self-indulgence in drink and love, his caprice and cruelty, and his superstition and childishness are notorious ; but his love of justice, religious toleration, energy where a situation demanded it, wisdom in the recognition of merit, whether in fine arts or in politics, are all worthy of due appreciation and praise. Whatever the faults of his youth, which clung to him through later life, the period of his rule as Emperor was a continuous and honest striving to maintain and extend the principles and dominions of his great father ; no ruler could do better, and Jahāngīr is to be understood in this light, if he is to be understood at all. The judgments of his contemporaries as well as modern critics will bear out what we have said :

Lane-Poole.

"When he (Jahāngīr) ascended the throne in 1605, at the age of thirty-seven, his character, never wanting in certain indolent good-nature, had mellowed. He had become less savage and more sober ; by day he was the picture of temperance, at night he became exceeding 'glorious'[1]. . . . . .Jahāngīr carried his daylight sobriety so far as even to publish an edict against intemperance, and emulated his far more

1. 'I myself have been accustomed to take wine,' writes Jahāngīr, 'and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the thirty-eighth year of my age, have regularly partaken of it. In early days, when I craved for drink I sometimes took as many as twenty cups of double distilled liquor. In course of time it took great effect upon me, and I set about reducing the quantity. In the period of seven years I brought it down to five or six cups. My times of drinking varied. Sometimes I began when two or three hours of the day remained, sometimes I took it at night and a little in the day. So it was until my thirteenth year, when I resolved to drink only at night, and at present I drink it only to promote digestion of my food.'—*Wāqiāt*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 285. Sir Thomas Roe relates how he was asked by Jahāngīr to drink : 'I drank a little, but it was more strong than ever I tasted, so that it made me sneeze, whereat he laughed, and called for raisins, almonds, and sliced lemons, which were brought me on a plate of gold and bade me eat and drink what I would, and no more.'—Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 100.

contemptible 'brother' James of Great Britain by writing a Persian counterblast against tobacco.[1] In spite of his vices, which his fine constitution supported with little apparent injury almost to his sixteenth year, he was no fool; he possessed a shrewd intelligence, and he showed his good sense in carrying on the government and principle of toleration inaugurated by Akbar. He was not deficient in energy when war was afoot; he was essentially just when his passions were not thwarted; and he cultivated religious toleration with the easy-going indifference which was the key-note of his character. The son of an eclectic philosopher, and a Rajput princess, he professed himself a Muslim, restored the Muhammadan formulas of faith which Akbar had abandoned on the coinage, and revived the Hijra chronology, whilst preserving for regnal years and months the more convenient solar system. But he followed his father's policy towards the Hindus, and was equally tolerant towards Christians." (*Medieval India*, pp. 298-99).

Elphinstone.

"Jahāngīr's first measures were of a much more benevolent and judicious character than might have been expected of him. He confirmed most of his father's old officers in their stations; and issued edicts, remitting some vexatious duties which had survived Akbar's reforms, forbidding the bales of merchants to be opened by persons in authority without their free consent, directing that no soldiers or servants of the State should quarter themselves on private houses, abolishing the punishments of cutting off ears and noses, and introducing other salutary regulations. Notwithstanding his own notorious habits, he strictly forbade the use of wine, and regulated that of opium; subjecting all offenders against his rules to severe punishment."

Regarding Nūr Jahān's influence over Jahāngīr, he says, "Though her sway produced bad consequences in the end, *it was beneficial on the whole.* Her father was a wise and upright minister; and it must have been, in part at least, owing to her influence that a great improvement took place in the conduct of Jahāngīr after the first few years of his reign. He was still capricious and tyrannical, but he was no longer guilty of such barbarous cruelties as before; and

1. 'As the smoking of tobacco had taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practise the habit. My brother Shāh Abbās (King of Persia), also being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in Iran.— Jahāngīr: *Wāqiāt*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 351.

although he still carried his excess in wine to the lowest stage of inebriety, yet it was at night, and in his private apartments. In occupations which kept him all day before the eyes of his subjects, he seems to have supported his character with sufficient dignity, and without any breaches of decorum. Nūr Jahān's capacity was not less remarkable than her grace and beauty ; it was exerted in matters proper to her sex, as well as in state affairs. The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense was diminished by her good arrangement. She contrived improvements in the furniture of apartments ; introduced female dresses more becoming than any in use before her time ; and it is a question in India whether it is to her or her mother that they owe the invention of *attar* of roses.[1] One of the accomplishments by which she captivated Jahāngīr is said to have been her facility in composing extempore verses." (*History of India*, pp. 550-51, 555-56).

Vincent Smith.

"Terry truly observes : 'Now for the disposition of that King (Jahāngīr), it never seemed unto me to be composed of extremes ; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceeding fair and gentle.' He was capable of feeling the most poignant grief for the loss of a grandchild, and often showed pleasure in doing little acts of kindly charity. His writings are full of keen observations on natural objects. He went to Kashmir nearly every hot season, and recorded a capital description of the country, carefully drawing up a list of the Indian birds and beasts not to be found in the Happy Valley. He loved fine scenery, and would go into ecstasies over a waterfall. He thought the scarlet blossom of the *dhāk* or *palās* tree 'so beautiful that one cannot take one's eyes off it', and was in raptures over the wild flowers of Kashmir."

Then after commenting on Jahāngīr's love of fine arts,[2] Smith

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1. '*Atr* of roses, the most excellent of perfumes, was discovered in my reign. The mother of Nūr Jahān Begam conceived the idea of collecting the oil which rises to the surface when rose-water is heated, and this having been done, the oil was found to be a most powerful perfume.'—Jahāngīr in *Wāqiāt*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 338.

2. 'This day,' writes Jahāngīr, 'Abul Hasan, a painter, who bore the title of *Nadiru-z Zaman*, drew a picture of my Court, and presented it to me. He had attached it as a frontispiece to the *Jahāngīr-nāma*. As it was well worthy of praise, I loaded him with great favours. He was an elegant painter, and had no match in his time. If the celebrated artists Abul-l Hai and Bihzad were now alive, they would do him full justice for his exquisite taste in painting. His father Aka Raza, was

quotes the Emperor's *Memoirs* on his sense of justice,[1] and proceeds : "His religion is not easy to define. Grave Sir Thomas Roe roundly denounced him as an atheist, but he was not exactly that. He sincerely believed in God, although he did not frankly accept any particular revelation or subscribe to any definite creed ....He had not the slightest desire to persecute anybody on account of his religion. It is true that he passed severe orders against the Jains of Gujarat, whom his father had so greatly admired, but that was because for some reasons or other he considered them to be seditious.......His personal religion seems to have been a vague deism, either taught by heretical Muhammadan Sūfis, or the very similar doctrine of certain Hindu sages.*...... The material for

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always with me while I was a Prince, and his son was born in my household. However, the son is far superior to the father. I gave him a good education, and took care to cultivate his mind from his youth till he became one of the most distinguished men of his age. The portraits furnished by him were beautiful. Mansūr is also a master of the art of drawing, and he has the title of Nadiru-l Asli. In the time of my father and my own, there have been none to compare with these two artists. I am very fond of pictures, and have such discrimination in judging them, that I can tell the name of the artist (on seeing his work), whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits finished by several artists, I could point out the painter of each.' *Wākiāt*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 359-60. The editor also cites the following observation from Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 178.—'In this time there were found, in the Indies, native painters who copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals. He was partial to the sciences of Europe, and it was this which attached him to the Jesuits.'

Sir T. Roe also confirms. Roe had presented Jahāngīr a picture, which he said his own artists could exactly copy : 'At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his workman, and showed me six pictures, five made by his man, all pasted on one table, so like that I was by candle-light troubled to discern which was which ; I confess beyond all expectation : yet showed my own and the difference which were in art apparent, but not to be judged by the common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyful and cracked like a Northern man.—*Embassy*, Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 98.

1. Referring to a capital sentence passed on an influential murderer Jahāngīr observes : 'God forbid that in such affairs I should consider Princes, and far less that I should consider *Amīrs*.' Terry speaks of the 'round and quick' justice which 'keeps the people in such order that there are not many executions !' Hawkins found that by the time he personally saw the Emperor and complained to him about his ill-treatment at Surat, Jahāngīr had already got the official report and taken the first steps towards justice. If the local officials were guilty of justice, Hawkins observes, 'it is well if they escape with the loss of their lands.'

* *Note on Jahāngīr's religious policy*.—But for a few lapses, Jahāngīr's religious policy was, in the main, a continuation of his father Akbar's, based on principles of wide toleration. The exceptions were mostly due to religion and politics being inseparable in life. The prosecution of the Sikh Guru Arjun and of Mān Singh the Svetāmbar Jain leader at Ahmad-

discourse on Jahāngīr's interesting personality is so abundant that it would be easy to write at large on the subject." (*O. H.*, pp. 387-89).

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abad (who, at the time of Khūsrū's rebellion, declared that Jahāngīr's empire would come to an end in two years) are not indicative of the general policy. The Sikhs as a community were not persecuted by Jahāngīr; the ordinances against the Jains were later withdrawn. Likewise were the Christians 'persecuted' on account of the follies of the Portuguese, but no sooner than peace was restored, they were once more restored to the royal favour. Terry observes: 'All religions are tolerated and their priests held in high esteem. Myself often received from the Mughal himself the appellation of Father with other many gracious words, with place among the best nobles.' Pietro Della Valle (1623-24) says, that the Hindus and Muslims 'live all mixed together and peaceably, because the grand Mughal......makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other, and both in his court and armies, and even among men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration.'

Nevertheless, if Jahāngīr felt that the preaching of any religious teacher had harmful consequences on the Empire, he did not hesitate to interfere. Two instances, both Muslim, are on record: the Afghan Sheikh Ibrāhīm Bābā was imprisoned in Chunār (1606) for his activities were 'disreputable and foolish' and he had gathered together a large following of Afghans near Lahore; in 1619, similarly, Sheikh Ahmad, a celebrated Muslim divine of Sirhind, who claimed to be the *Mahadi*, was imprisoned at Gwalior, and placed in the custody of a Rajput. Sheikh Ahmad had written a book called the *Maktubat* which was judged to contain 'many unprofitable things,' calculated to drag people 'into infidelity and impiety. Two years later the Sheikh recanted and was released; he was not only set free but also given a dress of honour and considerable sums of money more than once.' (Beni Prasad, p. 433).

Jahāngīr's interest in deserving *sādhus* and *fakirs* was remarkable. In 1618-19 he wrote of Jadrup: 'On Saturday for the second time, my desire for the company of Jadrup increased. After performing the mid-day devotions,....I ran and enjoyed his society in the retirement of his cell. I heard many sublime words of religious duties and knowledge of divine things. Without exaggeration, he sets forth clearly the doctrines of wholesome Sūfism, and one can find delight in his society. He is sixty years of age. He was 22 when, forsaking all external attachments, he placed the foot of determination on the high-road of asceticism, and for 38 years he had lived in the garment of nakedness......God Almighty has granted him an unusual grace, a lofty understanding, an exalted nature, and keen intellectual powers, etc.........On Wednesday I again went and bade him good-bye. Undoubtedly parting from him weighed upon my mind which desires the truth.' Sir Thomas Roe records another instance of a *Fakir's* visit to Jahāngīr: 'This miserable wretch, clothed in rags, crowned with feathers, covered with ashes, His Majesty talked with for about an hour, with such familiarity and show of kindness that it must needs argue a humility not easily found among kings. The beggar sate where his (Jahāngīr's) son dare not do .... and after many strange humiliations and charities, rising, the old wretch not being nimble, he took him up in his arms, which no cleanly body durst have touched, embracing him; and three times laying his hand on his heart, calling him father, he left him and all of us, and me, in admiration of such virtue in a heathen prince. *Which I mention with envy and sorrow that we, having the true vine, should bring forth crabs and a bastard stock grapes*; that either our Christian princes had this devotion or that this zeal were guided by a true light of the Gospel.'

Ishwari Prasad.

"Jahāngīr is one of the most interesting figures in Mughal history. The ordinary view that he was a sensual pleasure-seeker and a callous tyrant does him less than justice. All accounts agree that he was intelligent, shrewd, and capable of understanding the most complex problems of the state without any difficulty. . . . There is much in his character that deserves to be condemned, but there is a great deal that entitles him to be placed among the most fascinating personalities of Indian History."[1] (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 524-30).

Beni Prasad.

"Jauntily to dismiss him (Jahāngīr) as a hard-hearted, fickle-minded tyrant, soaked in wine and sunk in debauch, as more than one modern writer has done, is at once unscientific and unjust. His fame has been eclipsed by the transcendent glory of his father and the dazzling splendour of his son. His memory has suffered from the implicit faith re-

1. Here is a delightful portrait of Jahāngīr from the pen of Hawkins :—' Now here I mean to speak a little of his manners and customs in the Court. First in the morning, about the break of day, he is at his beads with his face turned to the westward. The manner of his praying, when he is in Agra, is in a private fair room, upon a goodly set stone, having only a Persian lamb-skin under him. At the upper end of this stone the pictures of our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone ; so he turneth over his beads and saith 3200 words according to the number of beads, and then his prayer is ended. After he hath done, he showeth himself to the people, receiving their salams or good-morrows, unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, he sleepeth two hours more, and then dineth, and passeth his time with his women ; and at noon he showeth himself to the people again, sitting till three of the clock, viewing and seeing his pastimes and sports made by men and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of pastimes.

'Then at three of the clock all the nobles in general, that be in Agra and are well, resort unto the Court, the King coming forth in open audience, sitting in his seat royal, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of nobles standing within the red rail, and the rest without. . . . . .The King heareth all causes in this place and stayeth some two hours every day.

'Then he departeth towards his private place of prayer ; his prayer being ended, four or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him, of which as he pleaseth he eateth a bit to stay his stomach, drinking once of his strong drink. Then he cometh forth into a private room, where none can come but such as himself nominateth (for two years I was one of his attendants there). In this place he drinketh other three cup-fulls, which is the portion that the physicians allot him. This done he eateth opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drink, he layeth him down to sleep, everyman departing to his own home. And after he hath slept two hours they awake him and bring his supper to him ; at which he is not able to feed himself ; but it is thrust into his mouth by others ; and this is about one of the clock ; and then he sleepeth the rest of the night.'—*Relations*, Lane-Poole, (*Contemporary Sources*, pp. 88-9).

posed in historical forgeries and travellers' tales. His career has been viewed and judged in isolated passages.

"From a review of his life as a whole, he comes out sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as prince and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruelty. But as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and open hand........

"Sir Henry Elliot has drawn up a strong indictment of Jahāngīr and argued in particular, that his celebrated institutes were neither original in conception nor effective in practice. The first charge may be admitted at once, but is it a charge at all? Originality in administrative organization is extremely rare. Neither Akbar nor Sher Shāh had much of it. The test of a statesman consists not in originality but in adoption and adaptation of ideas and practices. It is true, again, that the imperial ordinances were not uniformly carried out, but the responsibility rests with the inherent circumstances of the case. No Government in the middle ages, with a large area under its jurisdiction, could make its authority effectively felt on the borders. Until his health failed him, Jahāngīr exerted himself manfully to shield his subjects from the oppression of his officers......

"Jahāngīr's reign, on the whole, was fruitful of peace and prosperity to the Empire. Under its auspices industry and commerce progressed, architecture achieved notable triumphs; painting reached its high-water mark; literature flourished as it had never done before: Tulsidās composed the *Rāmāyan*, which forms at once the Homer and the Bible, the Shakespeare and the Milton of the teeming millions of Northern India. A host of remarkable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country combined to make the period the Augustan age of mediæval Indian literature. *The political side of Jahāngīr's history is interesting enough but its virtue lies in cultural development.*" (*History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 430-38).

GENEALOGY

JAHĀNGIR (1605-27)

- Khūsrū (d. 1622)
- Parvīz (d. 1626)
- Shāh Jahān (1627-48; d. 1662)
  - Dārā Shikoh (executed, 1659)
  - Shuja (disappeared, 1660)
  - Aurangzeb (1658-1707)
  - Murād (executed, 1661)
- Shahriyār (executed, 1628)

AUTHORITIES

A. Primary—1. *Persian*: (i) *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī* or 'Memoirs of Jahāngīr,' already noticed, forms an important source of information for the period it covers. So too are the other histories of the reign of Jahāngīr referred to in the previous chapter.

(ii) *Pādshāh-nāma* of Kazwini, who entered the service of Shāh Jahān in the fifth year of his reign. Kazwini was the first to receive orders from Shāh Jahān to write an account of his reign of which he has covered only the first ten years. It is also called *Tārīkh-i Shāh Jahānī Dahsāla*, and forms the basis of most other later works.

(iii) *Bādshāh-nāma* of Abdul Hamīd Lahorī, who died in 1654 A.D., deals in detail with the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign. Despite its laboured style, which is too ornate at places, it contains 'a solid substratum of historical matter, from which the history of this reign has been drawn by later writers.' One of its MS. copies now available is considered 'a most excellent specimen of the Oriental art of calligraphy' and contains an autograph of the Emperor Shāh Jahān. Extracts in E. &. D., op. cit., VII, pp. 5-72.

(iv) *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Inayat Khān, who held responsible administrative posts under Shāh Jahān, and was on intimate terms of friendship with the Emperor, sums up the earlier histories and carries the story up to the end of 1657-8. The author says in his preface: 'It seemed to the writer of these pages that, as he and his ancestors had been devoted servants of the Imperial dynasty, it would be well for him to write the history of the reign of Shāh Jahān in a simple and clear style, and to reproduce the contents of the three volumes of Sheikh Abdul Hamīd in plain language and in a condensed form. Such a work (he thought) would not be superfluous, but rather a gain. Hence, he calls his work also *Mulākh-khas* or 'Abridgment.' Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 76-120.

(v) Other *Shāh Jahān-nāmas*. There are several other works of the same name, two of which might be very briefly alluded to: (a) *Amal-i Sālih* of Muhammad Sālih Kambu, one of the noted calligraphists of the period, deals with the whole life of Shāh Jahān—from his birth to his death in 1665. Besides writing of princes,

nobles, and officers, the work also speaks of 'learned men, physicians, poets and fine writers who were contemporary with Shāh Jahān.' (b) *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Muhammad Sādik Khān, somewhat similar to the above, is particularly of value as it formed the basis of Khāfī Khān's history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. Extracts and notices in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 121-44.

For the Persian sources see Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena's *History of Shāhjahān of Delhi*, pp. i-xx.

II. *European* (i) Sir Thomas Roe's *Embassy*, noticed in the previous chapter, throws some light on Shāh Jahān's early career as Prince. (ii) Francoys Pelsært's *Remonstrantee* is the account of a Dutch factor who was in India for seven years (1620-27). He believes in Shāh Jahān's guilt in the murder of Khūsrū, denounces Nūr Jahān's dominance, and makes interesting observations on prohibition of cow-slaughter for which, among other reasons, he gives the economic one, viz., that oxen do everything that is done by horses in Holland.—Moreland and Geyl. Cambridge 1925. (iii) De Laet's *Description of India and Fragment of Indian History*, already noticed. (iv) Pietro Della Valle (1623-27), an Italian traveller, in particular, was impressed by the religious toleration within the Empire. His descriptions of the places he visited (Western India) are graphic and valuable.—Pub. Hakluyt Society. (v) Mandelslo the German traveller was in India for a very short time (1638-39). His account, first published in 1658, contains much fiction mixed with some facts relating both to Mughal administration and history.—Harris's *Travels*, Vol. II. (vi) Peter Mundy, who came to India in 1628 and left eight years later, gives a more interesting and valuable record.—Ed. Temple, Pub. Hakluyt Society 1914-19. (vii) The Portuguese Fr. Sebastian Manrique travelled through N. India in 1640-41 and published his *Itenerario* in 1649 at Rome. He seems to have been well impressed with the prosperity of the country and people, and also speaks well of the orderliness of the Mughal camp. He attributes the planning of the Tāj to Geronimo Veroneo.—Pub. Hakluyt Society. (viii) The two French travellers Bernier and Tavernier are the most famous of European visitors of the period. The former, a well educated and experienced traveller, came to India in 1658 and stayed for twelve years. His work was first published in 1670. He was witness to many of the events he described or had means of reliable information. Yet, as Manucci points out, he is not to be accepted without careful scrutiny

and verification. The other, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, rightly regarded as the 'Prince of Ramblers', had also travelled widely in Europe before he came to India in 1640. His observations of social and economic conditions are valuable, but not equally so regarding political events. Himself a jeweller he observes 'where baniyans refuse to bite there is nothing to be hoped for by these Franks.' (Bernier, tr. Constable, ed. Smith, Oxford U. Press, 1914; Tavernier, tr. Ball, Macmillan, 1889.)

(ix) Last, but not least, Niccolas Manucci, the Italian adventurer, already noticed, is an important source of information for the period. He was a loyal partisan of Dārā and hated Aurangzeb for his treacherous conduct. After many vicissitudes he again entered service under Prince Shāh Alam in 1678 and saw much of the politics and social life of India. But like most other European writers he is not to be depended upon where he speaks, not from personal knowledge or experience, but merely from hearsay and bazar gossip. He died in India in 1717. His *Storia de Mogor* translated by William Irvine in four bulky volumes is rather too diffuse, and an abridged edition of the same in one volume, containing his experiences relevant to our purposes, has been published by his daughter Margaret L. Irvine, under the title—*A Pepys of Mogul India* (John Murray, London, 1913). *Pere Catrou's Histoire Generale de l'Empire du Mogol* (1705) was founded on Manucci's memoirs.

B. SECONDARY.—1. *History of Shāhjahān of Dilhi* by Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena is a most welcome addition to the critical monographs that have recently appeared on the lives of the Mughal Emperors. Sir Wolseley Haig, in his foreword to the book, writes: "Saksena treats his subject with praiseworthy impartiality. Shāhjahān, in his hands, is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of moral depravity described by some European travellers who have flavoured their pages with the scandalous gossip of the purlieus of the court."—*The Indian Press, Ltd.*, Allahabad, 1932, Pp. i-xxx contain a critical discussion of the sources, Persian and European. There is also a classified Bibliography at the end of the book, pp. 345-49.

2. *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* by Sir Edward Maclagan, Ch. VI, pp. 99-120.

3. *History of India* by Monstuart Elphinstone, pp. 574-603.

4. *Studies in Mughal India* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar for 'The Daily Life of Shāh Jahān'; 'Wealth of India, 1650;' 'Who Built the Tāj?' pp. 1-32. (1919).

History of Aurangzeb, Vols. I & II, by the same—M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1622.

5. *History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān* by Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, appearing in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras.

6. *Shāh Jahān*, by Jast, L. S. (London 1934), though it deliberately tampers with history, is an interesting contribution.

7. "The Architecture of the Tāj and its Architect,"—S. C. Mukherjee (I. H. Q. IX, 4. 1934).

8. "Rebellion of Shāh Jahān and his career in Bengal,"—S. N. Bhattacharya (I. H. Q. X).

9. "Prince Shāh Jahān in Bengal,"—Sri Ram Sharma (J. I. H., Dec. 1934 & I. H. Q. Mar. XI).

10. "Shāh Jahān's Embassy to China,"—C. S. K. Rao Saheb (Journal of the Andhra Hist. Society, Oct. 1934).

11. "Religious Policy of Shāh Jahān,"—Sri Ram Sharma (I. H. Q. Mar. 1936).

12. Read K. R. Qanungo's Review of Saksena's Shāh Jahān in M. R. June 1934. (Corrects & supplements) pp. 692-3.

13. "Life and Art in the Mughal Period: the mental background of Mughal painting and its reflection in Art."—Hermann Goetz, B. U. J., V 4, 1936. Also, "Indo-Muslim Architecture in its Islamic setting", by the same writer, Ibid. VIII, 4, Jan. 1940.

14. "*Tuhfat-us-salatni*"—a rare Ms. d. 950 A.H.=1543 A.D. of the poet Amir Shahi with autographs of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.—S. A. Shere in J. B. O. R. S., XXX, 1 (Mar. 1944).

15. "Rebellion of Shāh Jahān and his career in Bengal," Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharya, I. H. Q., X, 4, Dec. 1934.

16. "Indo-Muslim Architecture," M. A. Chaghatai, A. B. O. R. I., XXII, 1-2, 1941.

CHAPTER VIII

GOLDEN AGE OF THE EMPIRE

"Shāhjahān.........is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of moral depravity described by some European travellers."—SIR WOLSELEY HAIG.

'The expenditure of former reigns was not a fourth of the cost of this reign, and yet the King quickly amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessors.'—LUBB-AT-TAWÂRIKH.

The thirty years of Shāh Jahān's rule found the Empire at its zenith, in point of prosperity though not in extent. On the whole, they were years of peace and plenty, with few internal disturbances of any formidable character ; the only wars, whether successful or otherwise, were those of aggression, and intended to extend the boundaries of the Empire. Until the Empire was convulsed by the War of Succession, following on the illness of Shāh Jahān, it had held forth the promise of a most glorious epoch in the history of India. But events soon showed that there were worms infolded in the gilded tomb, and all that glistered was not gold. The failure of Imperial arms on the north-west frontier, the destruction of temples by Shāh Jahān, and the internecine feuds that were brewing—all indicated an unhappy augury for the future of the Empire. The reign of Shāh Jahān which had commenced with crime was not destined to end without it. Though Shāh Jahān was of a more staid character than his father, his rule was not without contrasts: it was an epoch of *grandeur not altogether unmixed with symptoms of decay.* It was both glorious and portentous at one and the same time.

The principal phases may be classified under the following heads : I. Early Life and Association ; II. Rebellions and Minor Conquests ; III. Kandahar and Badakhshan ; IV. The Deccan ; V War of Succession ; and VI. The Golden Age.

I. EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION

The early career of Shāh Jahān has been too clearly delineated in the last chapter to need repetition ; yet a few important details may be enumerated here. He was born on Thursday, January 5, 1592 at Lahore. His

(i) Early Life.

mother was the Rajput Princess (daughter of Rāja Udai Singh of Mārwar) variously called Jagat Gosain, Jodhbāi, and Manmati, Salīm had married in 1586. He had been christened *Khurram* or '*the joyous*' and brought up under the care of Akbar's childless wife Ruquiah Begam. Although he had no dearth of literary teachers, the young Prince, from the very beginning, showed a decided turn for more practical pursuits. In spite of his sharp wits and strong memory he was more at home with the bow and arrow, swordsmanship and riding, than with Persian and Turki. About his sixth year he suffered from small-pox, the recovery from which delighted Akbar so much that the occasion was celebrated with alms-giving and the setting free of some prisoners. In 1606 Prince Khurram was first entrusted with responsibilities of a public character, when he was left in nominal charge of the capital (with of course a Council of Regency) during Jahāngīr's absence in pursuit of the rebellious Prince Khūsrū. In 1607 he received the rank of 8,000 *Zāt* and 5,000 *Sawār*, with a flag and drums; the same year he was betrothed to Arjumand Banu Begam, the daughter of Asaf Khān, more famous as *Mumtāz-i-Mahal*, the Lady of the Tāj. This was followed by his nomination to the *Sarkār* of *Hisar Fīroza* which was the virtual declaration of his succession to the throne. Two years later, he was again betrothed; this time a daughter of Mīrza Muzaffar Husain Safavi (of the house of Shāh Ismail of Persia). This marriage strangely enough took place in 1610, whereas that with the former fiancé was celebrated only two years later, in 1612. In addition to these, Khurram married a third wife, daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān (grandson of Bairam Khān), in 1617.

His children of any note were all by his second and most celebrated wife, Mumtāz Begam; they were fourteen in all, out of whom only seven survived: (1) Jahānara Begam was born at Ajmer, in 1614; (2) Dārā Shikoh, in the same city, in 1615; (3) Shāh Shūja, also at Ajmer, in 1616; (4) Roshanara Begam, at Burhānpur, in 1617; (5) Aurangzeb, at Dauhad on Oct. 24, 1618; (6) Murād Baksh at Rohtas, in 1624; and Gauhanara Begam at Burhānpur in 1631.

(ii) Political Career.

"The history of Jahāngīr's reign," writes Dr. Saksena, "is mainly a record of the brilliant victories won by Prince Khurram...... His charming manners, his stern rules of conduct, his devotion to duty, and his dashing courage, all combined to ensure for him a successful

career. Contrast gave him a superiority over his brothers and rivals whose failure more than once added to his glory. He had never to wait for an opportunity ; it came to him automatically."[1]

(a) Mewār.

Khurram's first great triumph was against Mewār in 1614. It was an illustration of his pluck and tactics, he had eminently succeeded where other veterans had failed. It is strange that Vincent Smith should describe him as wanting in skill as a military leader.'[2] Dr. Saksena is truer in his observation that the subjugation of Mewar enhanced the glory of the Mughal Empire, and that, by this victory, Khurram's 'reputation as a general of consummate skill and ability was established beyond doubt ; and he was marked out as the rising star.'[3]

(b) Deccan.

The second great chance of his life came to Khurram when he was appointed to the southern command (1616-17), in supersession to his elder brother Parvīz and other reputed generals. Already raised to the dignity of 20,000 *Zāt* and 10,000 *Sawār* Khurram was now given the title of *Shāh*, never before bestowed on any Mughal Prince, and placed in full charge of the Deccan. 'Mewar revealed him as a skilful general, and the Deccan as a clever statesman.'[4] He was further exalted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *Zāt* and 20,000 *Sawār* and given the title of *Shāh Jahān*. Then followed gifts and offerings 'such as had never come in any reign or time' (amounting in all to Rs. 2,260,000). Finally, Shāh Jahān was given charge of the province of Gujarat (1618), in recognition of his meritorious services.

(c) Kāngra.

To crown all, the operations carried on unsuccessfully against Kangra, since 1615, gave Shāh Jahān his third opportunity. He won his laurels again at this place towards the close of 1618.

(d) Deccan again.

The first triumph of Shāh Jahān in the Deccan was really a piece of good luck for him, but it secured no permanent peace for the Empire. The corruption and quarrels of the Mughal officers, on the one hand, and the courage and cleverness of Malik Ambar, on the other, had resulted in reversing the tables against the Empire, since the withdrawal of Shāh Jahān in 1617. He was, therefore, again called to the South

1. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shāhjahān of Delhi*, p. 15.
2. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 416.
3. Saksena, loc. cit., p. 17.
4. Ibid., p. 21.

in 1621, and once more his tact and courage triumphed. But, as we have observed in the previous chapter, his success was his undoing.

Suspicion of Nūr Jahān's jealousy drove him to indiscretion.

(*e*) Rebellion.

When he was called to lead the campaign against Kandahār, he thought it more prudent to rebel. The circumstances and course of his insurrection have already been described. 'His rebellion,' as Dr. Saksena has well expressed, 'was a clash of two powerful ambitions each trying to subdue the other.'[1] It was also a great blunder, because by his rashness he played into the hands of his enemies. His grave misconduct, though he tried to 'clothe his immodest acts in the garment of apology' cost him the unique position to which he had climbed up in the Empire. But though baffled, his usual good luck once more came to his rescue. The death of Jahāngīr at *Rajauri* on Sunday, October 29, 1627, was a boon to Shāh Jahān. Although he was far away in the Deccan at that time, he briskly made his way to the throne.

There was a quick shuffling of the cards at the Imperial head-

(iii) Accession.

quarters. In the words of the *Bādshāh-nāma* (of Abdul Hamīd Lahorī): 'Nūr Mahal, who had been the cause of much strife and contention, now clung to the vain idea of retaining the reins of government in her grasp, as she had held them during the reign of the late Emperor. She wrote to *Nāshudani* (Shahriyār), advising him to collect as many men as he could, and hasten to her.' On the other hand, Nūr Jahān's brother Asaf Khān was equally alert. He 'determined that, as Shāh Jahān (his son-in-law) was far away from Agra, it was necessary to take some steps to prevent disturbances in the city, and to take possession of the princes (sons of Shāh Jahān) Muhammad Dārā Shikoh, M. Shāh Shūja, and M. Aurangzeb, who were in the female apartments with Nūr Mahal. They, therefore, resolved that for some few days they would raise to the throne Bulāki (Dāwar Bakhsh) the son of Khūsrū, who, by Nūr Mahal's contrivance, had been placed with *Nāshudani*.'[2]

Mutāmad Khān narrates the sequel in some detail: 'Nūr Jahān Begum sent several persons to bring her brother (Asaf Khān) to her; but he made excuses, and did not go. Asaf Khān now sent Banārasi, a swift runner, to Shāh Jahān, with intelligence of the death of Jahāngīr;

1. Ibid., p. 33.
2. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 5-6.

and as there was no time for writing, he sent his signet ring as a guarantee. Next day the royal retinue came down from the mountains to Bhimbar. There the funeral ceremonies were performed, and the corpse was sent on under escort to Lahore, where it was interred in a garden which Nūr Jahān had made.

'When the nobles and officers of the State became aware that Asaf Khān had resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dāwar Bakhsh, in order to secure the accession of Shāh Jahān, and that Dāwar was, in fact, a mere sacrificial lamb, they gave their support to Asaf Khān, and did whatever he said. So the *Khutba* was read in Dāwar Bakhsh's name near Bhimbar."

Shahriyār, in the meantime, had assumed the royal title at Lahore. 'He seized upon the royal treasure and everything belonging to the State which was in Lahore. To secure troops and supporters, he gave to every-one what he asked for, and in the course of one week he distributed 70 *lacs* of rupees among the old and new nobles, in the hope of securing his position.' A clash was, therefore, inevitable. The rival forces met three *kos* away from Lahore, and 'at the first attack Shahriyār's mercenaries, unable to face the old and loyal servants of the State, broke, and fled.... unable to understand his position and danger, Shahriyār fell back and entered the fortress, thus placing his own foot in the trap. Next day the nobles arrived,......Shahriyār fled for refuge into the female apartments of the late Emperor. A eunuch brought him out, and he was led bound to the presence of Dāwar Bakhsh. After making the regular bows and homage, he was placed in confinement, and two or three days afterwards he was blinded.." Tahimuras and Hoshang, sons of Prince Dāniyal, were also taken and confined. Asaf Khān wrote to Shāh Jahān, informing him of the victory........

'Shāh Jahān sent a *farmān* to Yaminu-d-daula Asaf Khān, to the effect that it would be well if Dāwar Bakhsh the son, and *Nāshudani* the useless brother of Khūsrū, and the sons of Prince Dāniyal, were all sent out of the world......' On the 2nd *Jumad-l awwal*, 1037 A.H......by general consent Shāh Jahān was proclaimed at Lahore and the *Khutba* was read in his name. Dāwar Bakhsh, whom the supporters of Shāh Jahān had deemed it advisable to set up in order to prevent disturbances, was now cast into prison. On the 26th *Jumada-l awwal*, Dāwar, his brother Garshas, Shahriyār, and Tahimuras and Hoshang, sons of the deceased Prince Dāniyal, were all put to death.'[1]

1. *Iqbāl-nāma-i Jahāngīr*, E. & D., op. cit., pp. 435-38. Dāwar (Bulāki), according to some, escaped and lived for some years longer.—Saksena, op. cit., pp. 62-88.

The ruthless philosophy underlying these wholesale political murders is very frankly stated by Md. Sālih Kambu, the historian of Shāh Jahān's reign : 'It is entirely lawful,' he writes, 'for the great sovereigns to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relations, *whose very annihilation is conducive to common good. And as the leaders, spiritual and temporal, justify the total eradication of the rival claimants to the fortunate throne (therefore) on grounds of expediency and common weal*, and upon the suggestion of such wise counsellors Sultān Khūsrū whom the Emperor Jahāngīr had, in an hour of drunkenness,

"Shāh Jahān ascended the throne at Agra on the 18th *Jumada-s sani*, 1037 A.H. (4th Feb., 1628), with the title of Abu-l Muzaffar Shahabu-d din Muhammad Sāhib Kiran-i Sani."[1]

The coronation was attended with a lavishness quite characteristic of the monarch who is still remembered as Shāh Jahān 'the magnificent.' The Imperial couriers carried the news of the accession to the most distant corners of the Empire. Poets, astrologers, learned and pious men, all received their due rewards. The Empress Mumtāz Mahal herself got a present of 20,000 *ashrafis*, and Rs. 600,000, together with an annuity of Rs. 1,000,000. Jahānara Begam received 100,000 *ashrafis*, and Rs. 400,000, with an annual allowance of Rs. 600,000. Rs. 800,000 were distributed among the Princes and Princesses of the Imperial family. The loyal officers and nobles were equally well rewarded, the disloyal were degraded. Among the most notable Mahābat Khān was promoted to the rank of 7,000 *Zāt* and 7,000 *Sawār*, and made *Khān Khānan*. Above all was Asaf Khān exalted to the dignity of 8,000 *Zāt*, and *Sawār*, called 'uncle,' allowed him to kiss the Emperor's feet (a unique privilege), entrusted with the Emperor's signet ring, and made the *Vakil* of the Empire.

II. REBELLIONS AND MINOR CONQUESTS

There were two great rebellions at the commencement of Shāh Jahān's reign, one Hindu and another Muslim. The first was that of Jajhar Singh, son of the notorious *Bīr Singh Dev Bundela*; the second was of *Khān Jahān Lodī*, Jahāngīr's officer whom we have met with already. The former started in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign (1628), and with a break, continued to defy the Emperor until 1635, when he met with the fate usual for rebels. The latter broke out in the second year of the reign (1629), and after a short interval of restless peace, found the leader defeated and decapitated (1631).

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handed over to Shāh Buland Iqbāl (Shāh Jahān) was *translated*, on Monday 22nd February, 1621, *from the ditch of prison to the plains of non-existence*. To avoid suspicion, the dead body of the late prince was taken with due honour and respect round the city of Burhānpur. The nobles and officers accompanied the hearse chanting prayers, and muttering incantations. He was buried in Alamganj on the night of wednesday.' *Sālih*, Vol. I, p. 137 and pp. 163-65 cited by Saksena, op. cit., p. 35.

It will be remembered that the death of Parvīz, too, is plausibly attributed to Shāh Jahān.

1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 6.

The Portuguese also created some trouble in the eastern provinces and were ruthlessly suppressed. These as well as other disturbances and conquests will be noticed in due course.

The account of this rebellion by Abdul Hamīd Lahorī, in his *Bādshāh-nāma*, is interesting.

(1) The Bundela Revolt.

'Jajhar Singh was son of Rāja Nar Singh Deo Bundela, who rose into notice by killing Shaikh Abul Fazl........ After the accession of Jahāngīr to the throne, Nar Singh Deo rose into favour and distinction through this wicked deed. But his evil nature was unable to bear his prosperity, and towards the end of the reign of Jahāngīr he became disaffected and oppressed all the *zamīndārs* in his neighbourhood.......He died three or four months before Jahāngīr and was succeeded by his son Jajhar Singh. *The wealth and property which Nar Singh had amassed without labour and without trouble unsettled the mind of his worthless successor Jajhar,* and at the accession of Shāh Jahān,....he left the capital Agra, and proceeded to Undcha (Orcha), his stronghold, where he set about raising forces, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the roads.

'A force was accordingly sent against him under the command of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khanan. [The Imperial forces[1] converged upon Undcha and] Jajhar Singh, having no hope of escape, waited upon Khān-Khānan and made his submission.......

'His Majesty in the second year of his reign pardoned the misdeeds of this turbulent man, and sent him on service in the Dakhin. After a while he took leave of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānan, the ruler of the Dakhin, and retired to his own country, leaving behind him his son Bikramjit, entitled Jag-rāj, and his contingent of men.

'On reaching home he attacked Bīm Nārāin, *zamīndār* of Garhā, and induced him by a treaty and promise to surrender the fort of Chaurāgarh (70 miles west of Jabbalpur.—*Āin-i Akbarī*, I. p. 367). Afterwards, in violation of his engagement, he put Bim Narain and a number of his followers to death, and took possession of the fort, with all the money and valuables it contained.

'Bīm Nārāin's son accompanied Khān Jahān to Court from Mālwa, taking with him an offering, and he made known to the Emperor what had happened. A *farmān*, was then sent to Jajhar Singh, charging him with having killed Bīm Nārāin, and taking possession of Garhā, without the authority of the Emperor, and directing him to surrender the territory to the officers of the Crown, or else give up the *jāgīrs* he held in his own country, and to send to Court ten *lacs* of rupees in cash out of the money which had belonged to Bīm Nārāin.

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1. One division of the Imperial army marched from the capital under Mahābat Khān, another came from Kanauj under Fīroz Jung, and a third proceeded from the south under Khān Jahān. The total strength of these forces was 27,000 horse, 6,000 foot, 1,500 musketeers.

'He got notice of this *farmān* from his *vakils* before it arrived, and being resolved to resist, he directed his son Bikramjit to escape with his troops from the Bālāghāt, whither he had gone with Khān Jahān, and to make the best of his way home. The son acted accordingly.'

The military operations need not be followed in detail. Prince Aurangzeb was in nominal command of 20,000 troops directed to reduce the rebels. Rāja Devi Singh, one of the rivals of Jajhar, was with the Imperial army.

'Notwithstanding the density and strength of his forests, Jajhar was alarmed at the advance of the Imperial forces, and removed his family, his cattle and money, from Undcha to the fort of Dhamuni, which his father had built. On the east, north and south of this fort there are deep ravines, which prevent the digging of mines or the running of zigzags. On the west side a deep ditch had been dug twenty Imperial yards wide, stretching from ravine to ravine....' When the army in pursuit approached Dhamuni, Jajhar fled to Chaurāgarh. 'Before leaving he blew up the buildings round the fort of Dhamuni, and left one of his officers and a body of faithful adherents to garrison the fort.' He did the same at Chaurāgarh, 'and then went off with his family and such goods as he would carry to the Dakhin.......When pressed hard by the pursuers, Jajhar and Bikramjit put to death several women whose horses were worn out, and then turned upon their pursuers...... Although they fought desperately, they were beaten and fled into the woods....The hot pursuit allowed the rebels no time to perform the rite of *Jauhar*, which is one of the benighted practices of Hindusthan. In their despair they inflicted two wounds with a dagger on Rānī Pārbati, the chief wife of Rāja Nar Singh Deo, and having stabbed the other women and children with swords and daggers, they were about to make off, when the pursuers came up and put many of them to the sword...... Durgābhān, son of Jajhar, and Durjan Sāl, son of Bikramjit, were made prisoner[1]........ The royal army then encamped on the edge of the tank.......While they rested there, information was brought that Jajhar and Bikramjit,...... after escaping from the bloody conflict, had fled to hide themselves in the wilds, where they were killed with great cruelty by the Gonds who

1. Later, the same chronicler (Lahori) states, 'By the Emperor's order they were made Musalmans by the names of Islām Kuli and Alī Kuli, and they were both placed in the charge of Fīroz Khān Nazir. Rānī Pārbati, being severely wounded, was passed over ; the other women were sent to attend upon the ladies of the Imperial palace......

'Udaibhān, the son of Jajhar, and his younger brother, Siyam Dawa, who had fled to Golkonda, were made prisoner by Kutb-ul Mulk, and were sent in custody to the Emperor. They arrived on the 7th *Shawwal*. The young boy was ordered to be made a Musalman, and to be placed in the charge of Fīroz Khān Nazir, along with the son of Bikramjit. Udaibhān and Siyam Dawa, who were of full age, were offered the alternative of Islām or death. They chose the latter, and were sent to hell.'

inhabit that country....... Khān Khānan rode forth to seek their bodies, and having found them, cut off their heads and sent them to Court.... When they arrived, the Emperor ordered them to be hung up over the gate of Sehur.

'On arriving at Chanda, the Imperial commanders resolved to take tribute from Kipa, chief *zamīndār* of Gondwana,....and he consented to pay five *lacs* of rupees as tribute to the government, and one *lac* of rupees in cash and goods to the Imperial commanders.....On the 13th *Jumada-i sani* the Emperor proceeded on his journey to Undcha, and on the 21st intelligence arrived of the capture of the fort of Jhānsi, one of the strongest in the Bundela country.[1]

But the irresistible Bundelas were not subdued. Another leader arose in Champat Rāi of Mahoba. In 1639 his depredations and incursions into Mughal territory made the road to the Deccan very insecure. Abdullah Khān was directed by Shāh Jahān to round up the rebels. But Champat Rāi played the Robinhood. He had the fullest support of his people. In 1642, through the agency of Pahād Singh, a son of Bīr Singh Dev, he was temporarily brought under the Imperial yoke. But his more famous son, Rāja Chhatrasāl, again challenged the Imperial authority under Aurangzeb.

Another exactly similar rebellion took place in Mau Nūrpur in 1639. Its *zamīndār*, Jagat Singh, was a loyal servant of the Empire, but his son Rājrup proved recalcitrant. Jagat Singh's secret sympathy with his rebellious son involved him in a war with the Imperial authorities. However, unlike the Bundela revolt, this insurrection ended in reconciliation. After nearly three years' hostilities, Jagat Singh submitted in March 1642, and ended his life as a loyal servant of the Crown.

Dr. Saksena, after pointing out the close parallelism between the two rebellions, observes : "The only difference is that in one case the entire line of the rebels was extirpated, in the other they were cherished and pardoned. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the case of the Bundelas, their wealth excited the cupidity of the Moghul Emperor, and this it was impossible to obtain without extinguishing their existence ; while in the case of Jagat Singh there was no such temptation, and once the latter agreed to the demolition of his forts, Shāh Jahān did not consider it necessary to go any further, since the rebels had become harmless.'[2]

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1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 6-7, 47-50.
2. Saksena, op. cit., p. 103.

(2) Khān Jahān's Rebellion.

Khān Jahān Lodī was a son of Daulat Khān Lodī, one of Akbar's officers. He held the rank of 5,000 and was successively governor of Gujarat and the Deccan in the reign of Jahāngīr. But like many another Afghan under Mughal dominance he still cherished dreams of independence. Unfortunately he was also guilty of peculation. Never heartily loyal to the Mughal Emperor, he had surrendered Bālāghāt to the 'Nizāmshāh for a paltry 300,000 rupees.[1] After the sudden death of Jahāngīr, and the temporary uncertainty of succession, he vaguely imagined a great opportunity to assert himself in the South. Shāh Jahān, when he ascended the throne, sent for him, and for a time seemed to have won him over. But the sullen nobleman proved incorrigible. He was jealous of Mahābat Khān, whose promotion as *Khān-Khānan* he looked upon as a supersession of his own claims. He was also disappointed at what he considered to be a cold reception at Court. He soon began to suspect even his personal safety and feared he might well be called upon to answer for his peculation. Under these circumstances, he determined to seek refuge in flight. He effected this on the night of October 5, 1629. The following is Lahori's account of his insurrection :—

'After the death of Jahāngīr, and before the accession of Shāh Jahān, Khān Jahān Lodī entered upon a dangerous and disloyal course.....He formed an alliance with Nizāmul-l Mulk, and gave up to him the Bālāghāt in the Dakhin, the revenue of which amounted to 55 *krors of dāms*. But Sipādhā Khān, who held Ahmadnagar, bravely and loyally refused to surrender that city.'

Then Khān Jahān 'marched with a large force to Māndu, with the intention of taking possession of Mālva', but the news of Shāh Jahān's accession 'brought him to a sense of his folly and wickedness. Rāja Gaj Singh, Rāja Jai Singh, and other distinguished Rajputs who had accompanied him to Māndu, parted from him when they heard of Shāh Jahān having arrived at Ajmer. Thereupon Khān Jahān wrote a letter of contrition and submission, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness.

'A royal *farmān* was sent in answer, informing him that he was confirmed in the governorship of the Dakhin, and directing him to return at once to Burhānpur. He then retired from Mālwa to Burhānpur, and engaged in the duties of his office. But when it was reported that the country of Bālāghāt, which Khān Jahān had given to Nizāmu-l Mulk still

1. Ibid., p. 68 n. 7.

remained in his possession, and had not been recovered, the Emperor appointed Mahābat Khān to the governorship of the Dakhin. Khān Khānan then returned to Court.' There, in spite of reassurances from the Emperor, he remained sullen and moody. Lahori says, 'Fortune was aggrieved with him, and so his perverse temper prevented him from appreciating the Emperor's kindness." Hence his flight above referred to.

'As soon as the Emperor was informed of it, he sent Khwāja Abu-l Hasan......in pursuit of the fugitive. Unmindful of the smallness of their own force and the numbers of the Afghans, they followed them and overtook them in the vicinity of Dholpur.' Yet, after a brave fight the rebel escaped. 'When the traitor entered the territory of Jajhar Singh Bundela, that chieftain was absent in the Dakhin; but his eldest son Bikramjit was at home, and sent the rebel out of the territory by unfrequented roads. If Bikramjit had not thus favoured his escape, he would have been either taken prisoner or killed. He proceeded to Gondwana, and after staying there some time in disappointment and obscurity, he proceeded by way of Berar to the country of Burman Nizām-l Mulk.'

The rest of the fight, flight and pursuit, need not be followed, with the exception of one incident, viz., the part played by Shāhūji Bhonsla, Shivaji's father.

'At this time Shāhūji Bhonsla, son-in-law of Jadū Rāi, a Hindu commander of Nizām Shāh's army, came in and joined Azam Khān (the Mughal commander). After the murder of Jadu Rāi,..........Shāhūji broke off his connexion with Nizām Shāh, and, retiring to the districts of Pūnā and Chākan, he wrote to Azam Khān, proposing to make his submission upon receiving a promise of protection. Azam Khān wrote to Court, and received orders to accept the proposal. Shāhūji then came and joined him with two thousand horse. He received a *khilat*, a *mansab* of 5000 and a gift of two *lacs* of rupees and other presents. His brother Murād received a robe and a *mansab* of 3000 personal and 1500 horse. Several of their relations and dependants also obtained gifts and marks of distinction.'

Finally, 'Khān Jahān was much afflicted at the loss of his sons and followers (who were either killed or taken prisoners by the Imperial forces). All hope of escape was cut off; so he told his followers that he was weary of life, that he had reached the end of his career, and there was no longer any means of deliverance for him; he desired, therefore, that every man should make off as best he could. A few determined to stand by him to the last, but many fled........In the midst of the struggle Madhu Singh pierced him with a spear, and before Muzaffar Khān could come up, the brave fellows cut Khān Jahān and his dear son Azīz to pieces. About a hundred of his adherents fell, and their heads were cut off........The heads of Khān Jahān and Azīz......were sent to the Imperial Court ......(His other sons were imprisoned). The heads of the rebels were placed over the gate of the fort. After their victory, Abdu-lla Khān and Saiyid Muzaffar Khān came to Court, and received many marks of favour. The former was advanced to a *mansab*

of 6,000 and 6,000 horse, and he received the title of *Firoz Jang*. Saiyid Muzaffar Khān was promoted to a *mansab* of 5,000 and 5,000 horse. He received the title *Khān Jahān*.'[1]

(3) Suppression of Portuguese Piracy.

The Portuguese were long settled in the eastern parts of Bengal, but they were never interfered with by the Mughal Emperor so long as their activities were harmless. On the contrary, they obtained a monopoly of salt from Government, and paid 10,000 *tankas* into the Imperial treasury every year.[2] But their omnivorous adventures soon landed them in trouble. They were not content with mere trade ; their missionary zeal to convert the natives evoked much hostility. Matters were made worse by their piratical pursuits also. Often they penetrated forty or fifty leagues up-country, from the river mouths, 'carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for celebration of marriage or some other festival.' They would even 'offer for sale the aged people in their very places of residence, and it was a pathetic sight to see young men redeeming their parents.'[3]

Under such provocation Shāh Jahān instituted a ruthless campaign against these foreigners (1632). Various motives are ascribed for this attack on the Portuguese, but that it was neither sustained nor universal, makes it clear beyond doubt that it was purely due to local irritation. Sir Edward Maclagan is perfectly right when he remarks : "The trouble at Hugli was not due primarily to a religious quarrel. The local Governors had put no obstacles in the way of propaganda and had paid due respect to the Catholic priesthood ......the Viceroy had protected them from the attacks of Mullas and Pirs. The hostilities undertaken by the Moguls against the Portuguese in Hugli originated in political causes, namely the sympathy and encouragement which the Portuguese of Hugli had given to compatriots, the Farangis of Chittagong who were little more than pirates, ready to lend their services to the king of Arakan against the Moguls. A religious element was indeed imported into the quarrel by Shāh Jahān, probably for reasons of policy....The

1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 7-72.
2. Manucci records about Hugli. 'Here I found the chief inhabitants of Hugli, all of them rich Portuguese, for in those days they alone were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province of Bengal.' (*A Pepys of Mogul India*, p. 118).
3. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 174-76.

Farangis made slaves of large numbers of Mogul subjects, and of these slaves they made Christians—'Boasting,' says Bernier, 'they made more Christians in a twelve month than all the missionaries in the Indies do in ten years.' The religious aspect, however, of the relations between the Moguls and the Portuguese was of subsidiary importance, and there was much apart from religion to justify the punishment of Hugli."[1]

The details of the fight are of little consequence. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely, even desperately, but it was of little avail against the concentrated might of the Empire. The following description taken from the *Bādshāh-nāma* of Lahorī gives a vivid idea of the brief struggle :—

'On the 2nd *Zi-l hijja*, 1241, the attack was made on the Firingis by the boatmen on the river, and by the forces on land......Having killed or captured all the infidels, the warriors carried off the families of their boatmen, who were all Bengalis. Four thousand boatmen, whom the Bengalis called *ghrabi*, then left the Firingis and joined the victorious army. This was a great discouragement to the Christians.

'The royal army was engaged for three months and a half in the siege of this strong place (Hugli). Sometimes the infidels fought, sometimes they made overtures of peace, protracting the time in hopes of succour from their countrymen. With base treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace, and sent nearly a *lac* of rupees as tribute, while at the same time they ordered 7,000 musketeers who were in their service to open fire. So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the besiegers was placed were stripped of their branches and leaves.'

Finally, however, they were all defeated. 'Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner. From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water, or burnt by fire. Nearly 1,000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom. 4,400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoner, and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty.'

The figures may not be very accurate. 'On the 11th *Muharram* [1043 A. H.]', the writer concludes, 'Kāsim Khān and Bahādur Kambu brought ...... 400 Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old, with the idols of their worship, to the presence of

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1. Maclagan, op. cit., pp. 100-1.

the faith-defending Emperor. He ordered that the principles of the Muhammadan religion should be explained to them, and that they should be called upon to adopt it......Those who refused were to be kept in continual confinement. So it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell. Such of their idols as were likenesses of the prophets were thrown into the Jumnā, the rest were broken to pieces.'[1]

(4) Minor Conquests.

Before proceeding to the major political events of the reign a passing reference might be made to some of the minor conquests of Shāh Jahān. Most of these relate to the subjugation of recalcitrant chiefs or petty *rājas* and *zamīndārs*, like Bhagirath Bhil (1632) and Marvi Gond (1644) in Mālva, and Rāja Pratāp of Palamau (1642) in Chutia-Nāgpur, and the turbulent border tribes on the frontiers. But the most notable were perhaps the cases of Little Tibet and Assam. In 1634 the ruler of the former country had been persuaded to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor and to read the *khutba* in Shāh Jahān's name. Failure to maintain this attitude of loyalty resulted in a big expedition, consisting of 2,000 horse and 10,000 infantry, being led into Little Tibet under Zafar Khān, in 1637-38. The prestige of the Empire was again restored, the *khutba* was again read in Shāh Jahān's name, and an indemnity of one million rupees was also paid into the Imperial treasury by the Tibetan ruler Abdal.

The conquest of Bengal had brought the Mughals into close contact with the Mongoloid states in the north-east of India. Akbar, on the whole, had cultivated friendly relations with the rulers of Kuch-Bihar and Kāmrūp, but during Jahāngir's reign Mughal policy in this direction "imperceptibly took an aggressive turn."[2] This was largely due to the internal weakness of the states themselves, no

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 31-5, 42-3. Bernier gives a more glowing picture of the persecution: 'The misery of these people,' he writes, 'is unparalleled in the history of modern times: it nearly resembled the grievous captivity of Babylon; for even the children, priests, and monks shared the universal doom. The handsome women, as well married as single, became inmates of the seraglio; those of a more advanced age or of inferior beauty were distributed among the Omrahs; little children underwent the rite of circumcision and were made pages; and the men of adult age, allured for the most part by fair promises or terrified by the daily threat of throwing them under the feet of elephants, renounced the Christian faith.'—(*Travels*, p. 177).

2. Bhattacharya, *A History of Mughal N. E. Frontier Policy*, pp. 388-90.

less than to the ambition of the Mughal officer, Islām Khān. Within a short time both Kuch-Bihar and Kāmrūp were annexed to the Empire. The next step of Mughal Imperialism was naturally in Assam. This was reserved for successful execution in the reign of Shāh Jahān. From 1628-39 there was open war between the Empire and Assam. It resulted in the definite fixing of boundaries and resumption of peaceful trade relations, not unmixed with diplomacy, during the rest of the reign (1639-57).[1] The outbreak of the fratricidal war unsettled everything for the nonce.

III. BADAKHSHAN AND KANDAHAR

The unrealised ambition of Bābur to conquer and rule over his ancestral dominions in Samarkand and Bokhara, seemed to be still active, through some principle of heredity, in the reign of Shāh Jahān. The stars of the Empire were clearly on the ascendant, and Shāh Jahān, who had even as a Prince made his mark as a conqueror, now cast wistful eyes beyond the Hindukush towards Transoxiana, Balkh, and Badakhshan. He turned the puisant arms of the Empire for the reconquest of these distant regions as well as of Kandahar which had been lost since 1622. The result in both cases, unfortunately, was disastrous.

Badakhshan.

A quarrel between Nazr Muhammad Khān, ruler of Bokhāra, and his son Abdu-l Aziz, gave Shāh Jahān the tempting opportunity for interference.[2] In June 1646, he sent an army of 50,000 horse and 10,000 foot, under the command of Prince Murād and Ali Mardān Khān, into Balkh. They entered the city in July, and were rewarded by the capture

1. Ibid., pp. 391-93.

2. "Ever since the beginning of his reign,' writes Abdu-l Hamīd Lahorī, 'the Emperor's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan, which were hereditary territories of his house, and were the keys to the acquisition of Samarkand, the home and capital of his great ancestor Tīmūr Sāhib-Kiran. He was more especially intent on this because Nazr Muhammad Khān had the presumption to attack Kabul (1628) from whence he had been driven back in disgrace. The prosecution of the Emperor's cherished enterprise had been hitherto prevented by various obstacles;...... but now the foundations of the authority of Nazr Muhammad were shaken, and his authority in Balkh was precarious ......So the Emperor determined to send his son Murād Bakhsh with fifty thousand horse, and ten thousand musketeers, rocket-men and gunners, to effect the conquest of that country......On the last day of *Zi-l hijja*, 1055 H., the Emperor gave his farewell to Prince Murād Bakhsh, to Amiru-l Umara (Ali Mardān Khān) and the other officers sent on this service.—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 70.

of treasure worth 12 *lacs* of rupees, 2,500 horses and 300 camels. Nazr Muhammad ran away to Persia, whence he returned triumphant not very long after. It is extremely interesting to note the Imperial casuistry about this interference in a foreign dominion. Says the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* : 'As it happened, from the commencement of his invasion of Balkh, this very design had been buried in the depths of his comprehensive mind, viz., that *after clearing the kingdoms of Balkh and Badakhshan from the thorny briars of turbulence and anarchy, he should restore them in safety to Nazr Muhammad Khān.* The latter, however, scorning the dictates of prudence, hastened to Iran, etc.'[1] In spite of the victory of the Imperial arms, Prince Murād had no desire to remain long in those turbulent regions, and evinced on the contrary a keen desire to get back to India. 'Many of the *amīrs* and *mansabdārs* who were with the Prince concurred in this unreasonable desire. Natural love of home, a preference for the ways and customs of Hindustan, a dislike of the people and the manners of Balkh, and the rigours of the climate, all conduced to this desire. This resolution became a cause of distress among the *raiyats*, of despondency among the soldiery, and of hesitation among the men who were coming into Balkh from all quarters. The soldiers, seeing this vacillation, began to plunder and oppress the people. So, when the Prince's desire was repeatedly expressed, the Emperor's anger was increased. He deprived the Prince of his *mansab*, and took from him his *tuyul* of Multan.

'Under these circumstances, to settle the confusion in Balkh, the Emperor found it necessary to send there a trustworthy and able manager. So he selected Sadu-lla Khān, his prime-minister......Sadu-lla Khān returned on the 5th *Shaban*, 1056-7, having settled the affairs of Balkh, and *restored order and tranquillity among the soldiers and people, and rescued the country from wretchedness.* He had most effectually carried out the orders of the Emperor, and was rewarded with a *khilat* and a thousand increase to his *mansab*.

'On the 24th *Zi-l hijja*, 1056, the Emperor bestowed the countries of Balkh and Badakhshan on Aurangzeb, and increased his *mansab* to 15,000 personal and 10,000 horse ......He was directed to proceed to Peshawar, and on the arrival of Spring to march to Balkh, in company with Amir-ul Umara Ali Mardān Khān, and a body of Rajputs, who had left Balkh and Badakhshan in disgust, and had come to Peshawar, where they were stopped by an Imperial order directing the officers at Atak not to allow them to cross the Indus.'[2]

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1. Ibid., p. 76.
2. Ibid., pp. 71-2.

But, even Aurangzeb, in spite of his great personal courage, which impressed the Badakhshanis very much,[1] could not hold the provinces for long. After the first capture of Balkh and the flight of Nazr Muhammad to Persia, Shāh Jahān had written to the latter in the following diplomatic strain : When the Prince (Murād) encamped opposite to Balkh, on account of his youth and inexperience, and the laziness and negligence of the elders accompanying him, some undesirable actions were performed, e.g., the entering of Rustam Khān into the fort, when you (Nazr Muhammad) were in presence there. These must have been a source of pain and alarm to you, and I am very sorry to hear of it......But I expected that you would repair to us and not go elsewhere....But fate is stronger than will......*I wished to clear Balkh of troublesome elements, and to hand it over to you .... and to place at your disposal an army to help you, when you so desired, to recover Trans-Oxiana.*'[2] Now, on account of the sheer impossibility of maintaining the Mughal position there, the retreat became inevitable. "The country was desolated, winter close at hand, grain scarce, and time short," Aurangzeb told his men, "So that there would be great difficulty in making arrangements for the winter, and remaining in the kingdom during that inclement season......"

The Prince then marched with all his forces from the neighbourhood of ......Balkh ; where, having ceded the country to Nazr Muhammad Khān, he delivered up the town and citadel of Balkh to Muhammad Kāsim and Kafsh Kalmak. He presented the former of these, on bidding him farewell, with a jewelled dagger, a horse caparisoned with golden trappings, and 50,000 rupees out of the royal treasury. He also committed to his charge, among the stores contained in the fort and city, 50,000 *mans* of grain belonging to His Majesty, which, estimated by the rate ruling at that time, was worth five *lacs* of rupees and besides this, all the granaries of the other forts......From the beginning of the invasion of Balkh and Badakhshan (1645) till the end (Oct. 1647), when those conquered territories were ceded to Nazr Muhammad Khān, there was expended out of the State Exchequer, in the progress of this under-

1. "The grim tenacity of Prince Aurangzeb struck terror into the heart of the enemy ;.......'one day, the hour of evening prayer arrived when the battle was at its hottest ; Aurangzeb spread his carpet on the field, knelt down and calmly said his prayers, regardless of the strife and din around him. He was then, as during the rest of the campaign, without armour and shield. The Bokhara army gazed on the scene with wonder, and Abdul Azīz, in generous admiration, stopped the fight, crying: To fight with such a man is to court one's own destruction."—Saksena, op. cit., p. 207.

2. Cited Ibid., p. 202.

taking, the sum of two *krors* of rupees, which is equivalent to seven *lacs* of the *tumans* current in Irak.[1]

The march back from Balkh to Kabul (Oct. 1647) was nearly as disastrous as the British withdrawal from Kabul in 1842. According to Inayat Khān, 'from the first commencement of the army's crossing to the end, about 5,000 men, a similar number of animals such as horses, elephants, camels, oxen, etc., were destroyed and a vast deal of property remained buried in the snow.'[2]

Kandahār.

Kandahar, on account of its strategical and commercial importance, had ever been the bone of contention between the Shāh of Persia and the Emperor of Hindustan. Conquered by Bābur in 1522, it had been lost for a time and recovered by Humāyūn in 1545. Lost again during Akbar's minority, it was re-acquired in 1595. Jahāngīr once more lost it in 1622, but Shāh Jahān regained it in 1638. Ten years later, in 1648, the Persians recaptured Kandahar for the last time, and despite persistent efforts (1648-49 and 1652-53) the Mughals could never wrest it from their hands again. Diplomatic embassies and very costly gifts were exchanged during the intervals, between the Shāh and the Emperor, but they were all directed to the study of each other's political advantages and weaknesses with the ultimate object of outwitting the rival. Finally, Persian won this race for Kandahar against the Emperor of Hindusthan.

In 1638, Ali Mardān Khān, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, fearing that he might be called upon by the Shāh to account

1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 78-9.

2. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 83. The First Afghan War, under Lord Auckland closed with a series of disasters greater than those of Aurangzeb in Balkh. Revolts broke out in all directions. The presence of the foreigners was detested by the Afghans, "and everybody in a responsible position behaved with unexampled folly." In December 1841 the necessity of retreat to Jallalabad was recognised. A treaty was signed on 1st Jan. 1842; "the guns, muskets and ordnance stores having been previously given up. Snow fell, ...on January 6, the dispirited army, still numbering about 4,500 troops and 12,000 followers encumbered by a train of *doolies* or litters bearing the women and children, started for Jallalabad. On the 8th, only about 800 men of all arms emerged from the Khurd Kabul defiles .....on the 11th only 200 were left. On the 13th, Dr. Brydon, sorely wounded, and barely able from exhaustion to sit upon the emaciated beast that bore him, reached Jallalabad, and told that Elphinstone's army, guns, standards, honour, all being lost, was itself completely annihilated. Such was the consummation of a line of policy which from first to last held truth in derision, trod right under foot, and acting on a remote scene was enabled for a time unscrupulously to mislead the public mind" (Smith, *O. H.*, pp. 680-82).

for the large sums he had embezzled from the revenues of his province, invited the Mughals to capture it. 'On the approach of the Imperial forces,' says Lahorī, 'Ali Mardān Khān conducted them into the fortress, and gave it up to them. ....The Governor of Kabul was directed to proceed to Kandahar, and present a *lac* of rupees to Ali Mardān Khān. He was then to take the Khān to Kabul, and to send him under escort to the Imperial Court, with all his family and dependants....All the country to Kandahar with its fortress was annexed to the Imperial dominions.'[1] But this was only a short-lived triumph.

Loss of Kandahār.

When the ambitious Shāh Abbās II came to the throne, in 1642, Persia seemed determined to reconquer Kandahar. Owing to the minority of the Shāh, however, the actual attack was not made until 1648. Then, 'it reached the ear of royalty (Shāh Jahān), through the representations of Daulat Khān, ruler of Kandahar, and Purdil Khān, Governor of Bust, that Shāh Abbās II, having come to the sacred city of Tus (Mashhad-i-Mukaddas) with intent to rescue the kingdom of Kandahar, had proceeded towards the confines of Khurasan, with all his matchlockmen and pioneers. It was, besides, reported that he had despatched men to Farah, Sistan, and other places, to collect supplies of grain, and having sent on a party in advance to Herat, was doing his utmost to block up the road on this side ; being well aware that, during the winter, owing to the quantity of snow on the ground, the arrival of reinforcements from Hindustan by way of Kabul and Multan was inpracticable, he proposed advancing in this direction during that inclement season, and had despatched Shāh Kuli Beg, son of Maksud Beg, his *wazīr*, as expeditiously as possible with a letter to Court, and further that individual in question had reached Kandahar, and, without halting more than three days, had resumed his journey to the august presence.

'His Majesty, after hearing this intelligence, having summoned Allāmi Sadulla Khān from the metropolis, commanded him to write *farmāns* to all the nobles and *mansabdārs* who were at their respec-

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1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 64. Ali Mardān Khān later, as we have seen, served in the Badakhshan campaign. He was promoted up to a rank of 7,000 *zāt* and *sawār*, and made successively Governor of the Punjab and Kashmir. The Ravi Canal, 49 *Krosh* in length, near Lahore, was built during his governorship.

tive estates, *jāgīrs*, and homes, directing them to set out with all speed for Court. It was likewise ordered that the astrologers should determine the proper moment for the departure of the world-traversing camp from the metropolis to the capitals Lahore and Kabul.

'As soon as it reached the royal ear, ... that .... the Shāh had arrived outside the fortress of Kandahar, and besieged it, the ever successful Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahādur was appointed to proceed thither with Allāmi Sadulla Khān, and some of the chief officers of State, such as Bahādur Khān, Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh, Rustam Khān, Rāja Bithaldās, and Kalich Khān. Besides these, there were upwards of fifty individuals from amongst the nobles, and a vast number of *mansabdārs*, *ahadis* and archers, and matchlockmen—the whole number of whom, under the regulation requiring them to bring one-fifth of their respective rallies of fighting men into the field, would amount to 50,000 horsemen, and according to the rule enforcing a fourth, to 60,000—as well as 10,000 infantry, matchlock and rocket men, etc. It was ordered that subsidiary grants of the money out of the State Exchequer should be made to the nobles and *mansabdārs* holding *jāgīrs*, who were appointed to serve in this expedition, at the rate of 100 rupees for every individual horseman, which would be a *lac* for every hundred (thousand?); that to those who drew pecuniary stipends in place of holding *jāgīrs*, three months' pay in advance should be disbursed; and in like manner also to the *ahadis* and matchlockmen, who numbered 5,000 horse, should a similar advance be made; so that they might not suffer any privations during the campaign from want of funds to meet their current expenses...... It was further commended that the ever-victorious army should hasten to Kabul *via* Bangash-i bala and Bangash-i payin, as they were the shortest routes, and thence proceed by way of Ghazni towards Kandahar.'

In spite of all these elaborate preparations, however, Kandahar could not be retaken from the doughty Persians.

'Some of the Mughal *mansabdārs*, *ahadis*, and matchlockmen too, having sprinkled the dust of treason on the heads of loyalty, entered into a league with them, and having come in front of the fort, declared that, in consequence of all the roads being closed, from the vast quantity of snow on the ground, there was no hope of the early arrival of succour, and that it was evident from the untiring efforts of the Kazalbashi, that they would very shortly capture the fort, and after its reduction by force and violence, neither would there be any chance of their own lives being spared, nor of their off-spring being saved from captivity. The wretched Daulat Khān, who ought instantly to have extinguished the flames of this sedition with the water of the sword, showed an utter want of spirit, by contenting himself with offering advice in reply....

'After the fortress of Kandahar had been besieged for three months and a half, so that grain and fodder were beginning to be scarce, notwithstanding the praiseworthy exertions of the faithful

servants of the Crown, owing to their having with them neither a siege train of battering guns, nor skilful artillerymen, the capture of the fortress seemed as distant as ever. For these reasons, and as the winter also was close at hand, a *farmān* was issued to the illustrious Prince (Aurangzeb), to the effect that, as the reduction of the fortress without the aid of heavy guns was impracticable, and there was not now sufficient time remaining for them to arrive in, he should defer its capture till a more convenient opportunity, and start for Hindustan with the "victorious" troops...... the Prince did not deem it expedient to delay any longer, but in obedience to the mandate worthy of all attentions, set out with the "victorious" forces from Kandahar on the 8th of the month of *Ramzān* this year for Hindustan.'[1] (Sept. 3, 1649)

Second Siege of Kandahar.

In May 1652, another effort was made to recover Kandahar, but with no better result. 'His Majesty despatched Allāmi with the multitudinous forces (resembling the waves of the sea), amounting together with the army serving in Kabul to 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including musketeers, gunners, bombardiers, and rocketmen, for the purpose of conquering the country and fortress of Kandahar, Bust and Zamindawar. He was further accompanied by ten large and ferocious war-elephants, eight heavy and twenty light guns; the latter of which carried two and two and a half *sir* (four and five lbs.) shot, and during an engagement, used to be advanced in front of the army; twenty elephants carrying *hathnals*, and 100 camels with *shuturnals*, besides a well-replenished treasury, and other suitable equipments. He was instructed to repair by way of Kabul and Ghazni to Kandahar, and about 3,000 camels were employed in the transport of artillery stores, such as lead, powder and iron shot......

'As it had been determined that the siege of the fortress should be commenced simultaneously with the arrival (of Aurangzeb) at Kandahar, the fortunate Prince, having finished marking out the positions that the royal forces were to occupy, invested the stronghold that very day...... For two months and eight days the flames of war burned fiercely, and on both sides numerous casualties occurred...... To be brief, the royalists used the most strenuous exertions, and laboured with unremitting zeal and assiduity in

1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 86-96.

carrying forward the parallels and zigzags of attack, and demolishing the crest of the parapet and the bastions. Nevertheless, as the fortress possessed immense strength and was filled with all the military weapons and stores required for an effective defence, their utmost efforts produced no impression, and, owing to the storm of shot and shell that poured on them like a shower of rain from the fort, they were unable to advance their trenches beyond the spot they had already brought them to. (The artillery proved ineffective.)

'As soon as these particulars became known to His Majesty's world-adorning understanding, and he was informed that the capture of the fortress was at that period impracticable; and it also reached the royal ear that the Uzbeks and Amans had come into the neighbourhood of Ghazni, and excited tumults,......a *farmān* was issued to the illustrious Prince (Aurangzeb) on the 4th of *Shaban*, to withdraw his forces from around the fortress, and, deferring its capture till some other period, to take his siege train along with him and set out for Court.'[1] (July 9, 1652).

Third Siege of Kandahar.

Despite the failure of the first two attempts, Shāh Jahān resolved to make yet another effort in 1653. But this time the command was entrusted to Prince Dārā instead of Aurangzeb. To follow Inayat Khān's narrative: 'As the Prince Buland Iqbāl (Dārā Shikoh), after the return of the army from Kandahar, had guaranteed to conquer that territory, and with this view the provinces of Kabul and Multan had been bestowed upon him, His Royal Highness, on reaching the capital, applied himself to the task of making the requisite arrangements for the campaign. In the course of three months and some days that he remained at Lahore, he made such profuse exertions, that what could not have been otherwise accomplished in a year was effected in this short period.

'Among the siege train was a gun called *Kishwar-kusha* (clime--conquering), and another *Garh-bhanjan* (fort-shattering), each of which carried an iron shot one *man* and eight *sirs* in weight (98 lbs.); and they were worked by the gunners under the direction of Kāsim Khān. There was also another large piece of ordnance that carried a shot of a *man* and sixteen *sirs* (1 cwt.), and was plied under the management of His Royal Highness's *Mīr-i-atish*, as well as 30,000 cannon-balls, small and great. He also got ready 5,000 *mans* of gun-powder, and 2,500 of lead, measuring by Imperial weight, and 14,000 rockets.

1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 99-101.

'Having likewise collected as many grain-dealers as were procurable, he made arrangements for the army commissariat and the safe arrival of supplies. He then despatched a letter to Court, representing that as the moment of starting was fixed for the 23rd *Rabi'u-l awwal*, and the preliminary arrangements for the campaign had been completed, if the royal forces appointed to this enterprise received their dismissal, he would set out for Kandahar. A mandate in the auspicious hand-writing was, therefore, issued, directing His Royal Highness to start off at the pre-determined moment by way of Multan, on which road provisions and forage were abundant.'[1]

Dārā left Lahore on February 11, 1653, and arrived at Kandahar on April 23, 1653. But a siege of over five months showed that, in spite of Dārā's pompous equipment, Kandahar could not be conquered. A few minor fortresses were, no doubt, reduced, but the main objective remained unfulfilled. Again the old story repeated itself : 'The winter began to set in, all the lead, powder, and cannon-balls were expended, and neither was there any forage left in the meadows, nor provisions with the army. A *farmān* likewise was issued to this effect, that, as the winter was close at hand, and they had already been long detained in Kandahar, if the reduction of the fortress could not be effected just at once, they might stay if necessary some short time longer ; or otherwise return immediately......Not one of the royalist commanders proposed staying any longer. The Prince Buland Iqbāl consequently, on 15th *Zi-l ka'da* this year, set out from Kandahar for Hindusthan.' (September 27, 1653).

Despite his colossal failure, Prince Dārā was magnificently rewarded. 'On the 8th of *Rabi'u-s sani* this year (1653-4), being the expiration of the sixty-fifth lunar year of His Majesty's age, a festival was celebrated with exceeding splendour, and was attended with the usual ceremonies. In this sublime assembly the Emperor kindly conferred on the Prince Buland Iqbāl a handsome *khilat* with a gold-embroidered vest, studded with valuable diamonds round the collar ; on both sleeves, and the skirts, pearls had been sewn, and it was worth 50,000 ; and also a *sarband* compound of a single ruby of the purest water, and two magnificent pearls, of the value of a *lac* and 70,000 rupees, and a donation of thirty *lacs* besides. He also distinguished His Royal Highness by the lofty title of *Shāh Buland Iqbāl*, which had been applied exclusively to him-

1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 101-2.

self during his late Majesty's reign; and since in the days of his Princehood a chair had been placed at the Emperor's suggestion opposite to the throne for him to sit on, he now in like manner directed his Royal Highness to seat himself on a golden chair that had been placed near the sublime throne.'[1]

"Trustworthy estimates," writes V. A. Smith, "place the cost of the three sieges of Kandahar (1649, 1652, 1653) at 12 'crores,' or 120 millions of rupees, more than half of the annual income of the empire, which is stated to have been 22 'crores', or 220 millions of rupees, in 1648. During Shāh Jahān's reign the value of the rupee in English currency was usually taken at 2s. 3d. The imperial revenue, therefore, may be reckoned as 24¾ millions of pounds sterling, or, in round figures, as about 25 millions."[2]

IV. THE DECCAN

The history of Mughal relations with the Deccan has already been narrated up to the commencement of Shāh Jahān's reign. Akbar had annexed Khāndesh in 1599, and captured Asirgarh in 1601, when he was suddenly called to the north on account of Salīm's rebellion. He had also secured Berar which was then a part of the Nizām-shāhī dominion of Ahmadnagar. Jahāngīr, in spite of his prolonged and elaborate campaigns in the Deccan, was unable to make any headway in the South. This was partly due to the quarrels among the Mughal generals, on the one hand, and the intrepid opposition of Malik Ambar (d. 1626), the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, on the other. However, thanks to the ability and prestige of Shāh Jahān, the *status quo* was maintained. The Deccan, too, had been the refuge of many a rebel against the Empire. Shāh Jahān himself had sought shelter there, with Malik Ambar and the King of Golkonda, during his rebellion as a prince. At the commencement of his reign the same story was repeated by Jajhar and Khān Jahān Lodī in the course of their insurrections. To prevent further repetitions of this nature, as well as to pursue his ancestral policy to its logical conclusion, therefore, Shāh Jahān felt it necessary to subdue the three Deccan kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda.

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1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 102, 104-5.
2. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 403.

Ahmadnagar.

The reduction of Ahmadnagar became comparatively easy owing to the treacherous conduct of its officers, particularly Fath Khān, the unworthy son of Malik Ambar. When this great Abyssinian died in 1626, the Mughal possessions in the Deccan included Khāndesh, Berar, parts of Bālāghāt, and the fort of Ahmadnagar. But during the disturbed state of the empire in the last year of Jahāngīr's reign, the Nizām Shāh Murtaza II had virtually reacquired much of his lost territory, with the connivance of the peccant Mughal governor, Khān Jahān. When the latter, in the early years of Shāh Jahān, made matters worse by his rebellion, a systematic campaign was launched against Ahmadnagar (then including Aurangabad, Jalna, Nasik, Baglana, and Kalyan). Azam Khān, the Mughal commander, captured Dharur and Kandahar, and, though his attempt at Parenda was foiled by a combination of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar forces, their guerilla tactics, and the shortage of supplies, he succeeded in devastating the whole country and threatened the extinction of the Nizām-shāhī altogether. The internal weakness of the Sultanate enabled the Mughals to achieve their end without much trouble.

Fath Khān had been imprisoned for a second time, for his contumacious conduct, by Murtaza II. But the present crisis and the entreaties of Murtaza's wife, who was Fath Khān's sister, obtained his release and reappointment as *Vakil* and *Peshwa*. The superseded officer, Muqarrab Khān, on this account went over to the enemy who rewarded him with the title of *Rustam Khān*. Fath Khān showed his gratitude and patriotism by imprisoning his own master and writing to Asaf Khān, 'informing him that he had placed Nizām Shāh in confinement on account of his evil character and his enmity to the Imperial throne, for which act he hoped to receive some mark of favour. In answer he was told that if he wished to prove his sincerity, he should rid the world of such a wicked being. On receiving this direction, Fath Khān secretly made away with Nizām Shāh, but gave out that he had died a natural death. He placed Nizām Shāh's son Husain, a lad ten years old, on the throne as his successor. He reported these facts to the Imperial Court, and was directed to send the jewels and valuables of the late King, and his own eldest son as a hostage.'[1] Though

1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., p. 27.

Fath Khān temporised for a time to fulfil this, he ultimately yielded and sent to the Emperor 30 elephants, 9 horses, and jewellery worth 8,00,000 rupees. He also read the *khutba*, and struck coins in Shāh Jahān's name, upon which Shāh Jahān left Burhānpur, on March 6, 1632, and returned to the capital.

"With Shāhjahān's return to the North, the first stage in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar came to a close. . . .Mainly, two considerations affected Shāhjahān's decision to return to the North; first the outbreak of severe famine[1] which drained his resources and inconvenienced his men, and second, the death of his beloved wife, Mumtāz Mahal, which grieved him intensely.[2] He was disgusted with the Deccan and was unwilling to remain there. It was a human frailty which overcame him on this occasion, otherwise he seldom left things half done."[3]

But very soon Daulatabad proved the storm-centre of a fresh struggle. A dispute arose between Fath Khān and Shāhū (whose

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1. Lahori's account of this famine is as follows :—' During the past year no rain had fallen in the territories of the Bālaghāt, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatabad. In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries and a total want in the Dakhin and Gujarat. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy ; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it ; the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food ; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move, wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness.' The relief measures will be considered later. (E. & D., op. cit., p. 24).

2. She was, it will be remembered, the daughter of Asaf Khān, and hence Nūr Jahān's niece. At the time of her death she was about 40 years of age, and had borne her husband eight sons and six daughters. Their married life of 19 years was unique in its happiness. She was deeply loved by Shāh Jahān for whom she was really a guide, philosopher and friend. Her sudden death during the fourteenth childbirth, at Burhānpur, shocked and stupefied her husband. He did not appear at the *jarokha* for a week, and despised luxuries for two years. Like the Prisoner of Chilon's, his hair suddenly turned white. Shāh Jahān lived for 35 years more to mourn her irreparable loss. ' Empire has no sweetness, life itself has no relish left for me now,' he declared. His abiding love found its eternal monument in the Tāj, perhaps the most unique enshrinement of a lover's heart yet to be seen in this world.

3. Saksena, op. cit., p. 138.



MUM TĀJ BEGAM

allegiance to the Mughals has been previously mentioned) over certain grants of *jāgīrs* which were claimed by both. Consequently, Shāhū, with the aid of the Bijapuris, prepared to besiege Fath Khān in Daulatabad. 'The latter was much incensed against the Nizām-shāhīs, and had no faith in them; so he wrote to Khān-khānan Mahābat Khān, informing him that Shāhūji Bhonsla was preparing to bring a force from Bijapur against him, and that as the fortress was ill-provisioned, there was great probability of its being taken, unless Mahābat Khān came to his assistance. If the Khān came quickly, he would surrender the fortress, and would himself proceed to the Imperial Court.

'The Khān-khānan accordingly sent forward his son, Khān-zamān, with an advance force, and he himself followed on the 9th *Jumada-s sani.*' He reached Daulatabad on March 1, 1633. In the meantime, the Bijapur army met with a reverse at the hands of Khān-zamān, and 'so they made offers of an arrangement to Fath Khān. They offered to leave the fortress in his possession, to give him three *lacs* of *pagodas* in cash, and to throw provisions into the fort. That ill-starred foolish fellow, allured by these promises, broke his former engagement (with the Mughals), and entered into an alliance with them. When Khān-khānan, who was at Zafarnagar, was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to Khān-zamān, directing him to make every exertion for the reduction of the fortress, and for the punishment of the traitor and the Bijapuris.' When Khān-khānan joined his son in the attack on Daulatabad, and stormed the fortress with shot and shell, Fath Khān 'woke up from his sleep of heedlessness and security. He saw that Daulatabad could not resist the Imperial arms and the vigour of the Imperial commander. To save the honour of his own and Nizām Shāh's women, he sent his eldest son Abdu-r Rasul to Khān-khānan (laying the blame of his conduct on Shāhūji and the Adil-khānis). He begged for forgiveness and for a week's delay to enable him to remove his and Nizām Shāh's family from the fortress, while his son remained as a hostage in Khān-khānan's power. Khān-khānan had compassion on his fallen condition, granted him safety, and kept his son as a hostage. Fath Khān asked to be supplied with the means of carrying out his family and property, and with money for expenses. Khān-khānan sent him his own elephants and camels and several litters, also ten *lacs* and fifty thousand rupees in cash, belonging to the State, and demanded the surrender of the fortress. Fath Khān sent the keys to Khān-khānan, and set about preparing his own departure. Khān-khānan then placed trusty guards over the gates.

'On the 19th of *Zi-l hijja*, Fath Khān came out of the fort and delivered it up (June 17, 1633). The fortress consisted of nine different works, five upon the low ground, and four upon the top of the hill.[1]

1. The *Bādshāh-nāma* gives the following description of Daulatabad :—

These with the guns and all the munitions of war were surrendered.... Khān-khānan went into the fortress, and had the *khutba* read in the Emperor's name.' The boy prince Nizām Shāh was taken captive and imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior. 'The crimes of Fath Khān were mercifully pardoned; he was admitted into the Imperial service, and received a *khilat* and a grant of two *lacs* of rupees per annum. His property also was relinquished to him, but that of Nizām Shāh was confiscated.'[1] (Sept. 21, 1633.)

Although this event virtually extinguished the Nizām-shāhī dynasty for ever, it did not mean the total subjugation of Ahmadnagar at once. The Nizām-shāhī and Adil-shāhī officers still held out in some outposts which they would not surrender without a struggle. More than others, Shāhūji, with his strong hold on Junnar, Poona, and Chākan, now proved as intrepid and resourceful as Malik Ambar had been in the previous reign. He created a *roi faineant* round whom he tried to rally all the Deccani forces, both Nizām-shāhī and Adil-shāhī.[2] But the Mughals proved too strong for him; and he had to yield fort after fort to them. Murtaza Khān, governor of Daulatabad, Allah Vardi Khān, governor of Painghāt, Khān Daurān, Khān Zamān, and other Mughal generals[3] hunted Shāhū from place to place. Finally, Shāh Jahān himself left Agra on Sept. 21, 1635, to direct the operations and reached Burhānpur in January, 1636. One by one Shāhū's supporters and allies were either won over or neutralised by bribes and

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'The old name of the fortress of Daulatabad was Deo-gir, or Dharagar. It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky. In circumference it measures 5,000 legal *gaz*, and the rock all round it scraped so carefully, from the base of the fort to the level of the water, that a snake or an ant would ascend it with difficulty. Around it there is a moat forty yards in width, and thirty in depth, cut into the solid rock. In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage, like the ascent of a minaret, and a light is required there in broad daylight. The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate. It is by this road and way that the fortress is entered. By the passage a large iron brazier had been constructed, which, when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in this brazier, its heat would effectually prevent all progress. The ordinary means of besieging a fort by mines, *sabats*, etc., are of no avail against it.' (E. & D., op. cit., p. 41).

1. Ibid., pp. 36-43.

2. 'Nizāmu-l Mulk was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior but the evil-minded Sāhu,' says Lahorī, 'and other turbulent Nizamu-l Mulkis, had found a boy of the Nizām's family, to whom they gave the title of *Nizāmu-l Mulk*. They had got possession of some of the Nizām's territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government.' (E. & D., op. cit., p. 51).

3. Khān-khānan Mahābat Khān died at this stage.

threats. Udgir, Ausa, Māhuli, and other fastnesses soon fell into Mughal hands. The account of this campaign given in the *Bād-shāh-nāma* is as follows :—

'Now that the Emperor was near Daulatabad, he determined to send Khān-dauran, Khān-zamān, and Shayista Khān, at the head of three different divisions, to punish these rebels, and in the event of Adil Khān failing to co-operate with them, they were ordered to attack and ravage his territories......Khān-daurān's force consisted of about 20,000 horse, and he was sent towards Kandhar and Nander, which join the territories of Golkonda and Bijapur, with directions to ravage the country and to besiege the forts of Udgir and Usa, two of the strongest forts in those parts......Khān-zamān's force also consisted of about 20,000 men. He was directed to proceed to Ahmednagar, and subdue the native territory of Sāhu, which lies in Chamar-gonda and Ashti near to Ahmadnagar. After that he was to release the Konkan from the grasp of Sāhu, and upon receipt of instructions he was to attack and lay waste the country of Adil Khān......

It now became known that Adil Khān, misled by evil counsels, and unmindful of his allegiance had secretly sent money to the commandant of forts Udgir and Usa. He had also sent Khairiyat Khān with a force to protect those two forts, and had commissioned Randaula to support Sāhū. Incensed with these acts, the Emperor sent a force of about 10,000 men under Saiyid Khānjahān, ... to chastise him. Orders were given that he and Khān-daurān and Khān-zamān should march into the Bijapur territories in three different directions, to prevent Randaula from joining Sāhū, and to ravage the country from end to end. If Adil Khān should awake from his heedless stupidity, and should pay proper obedience, they were to hold their hands; if not, they were to make every exertion to crush him....

'Mukarramant Khān, the Imperial envoy, approached Bijapur, and Adil Khān, fearing the consequences of showing disobedience, came forth from the city of five *kos* to meet him, and made great show of submission and respect......But the envoy soon discovered that, although he made all these outward demonstrations through fear, he was really desirous of exciting disturbances and offering opposition. He made a report to this effect, and upon his arrival, the Imperial order was given to kill and ravage as much as possible in the Bijapur territories.

'When Abdu-l Latif, the envoy to Golkonda, approached the city, Kutbu-l Mulk came forth five *Kos* to receive him, and conducted him to the city with great honour......He had the *khutba* read aloud in the name of the Emperor; he several times attended when *khutba* was read, and bestowed gifts upon the reader, and he had coins struck in the Emperor's name, and sent specimens of them to Court.'

Adil Khān, finding that his territory was ravaged by the Mughal armies, at last submitted. 'He agreed to pay

a tribute equivalent to twenty *lacs* in jewels, elephants, etc., and engaged that if Sāhū returned and surrendered Junir and the other forts in the Nizāmshāhī territory to the Imperial officers, he would take him into his service; but if Sāhū did not do so, he would assist the Imperial forces in reducing the forts and punishing Sāhū........There was, therefore, no reason for the Emperor's staying any longer, and would be a great favour if he (Shāh Jahān) would proceed to the capital, so that the *raiyats* and people of Bijapur might return peacefully to their avocations. The Emperor graciously consented, and resolved to go and spend the rainy season at Mandu. Adil Khān's tribute,....arrived, and was accepted. The Emperor confirmed to him the territory of Bijapur and the fortress of Parenda, which had formerly belonged to Nizāmu-l Mulk, but the commandant had surrendered to Adil Khān for a bribe. He also confirmed to him all the country of Kokan on the sea-shore, which had been formerly held half by him and half by Nizāmu-l Mulk.' (May 6, 1636.)

Aurangzeb's 1st Viceroyalty (1636-44).

'On the 3rd *Zi-l hijja* the Emperor appointed Prince Aurangzeb to the government of the Dakhin. This country contains 64 forts, 53 of which are situated on hills; the remaining 11 are in the plain. It it divided into four *subas*: 1. *Daulatabad*, with Ahmadnagar and other districts, which they call the *suba* of the Dakhin. The capital of this province, which belonged to Nizāmu-l Mulk, was formerly Ahmadnagar, and afterwards Daulatabad. 2. *Telingana*. This is situated in the *suba* of Bālāghāt. 3. *Khāndesh*. The fortress of this province is Asir, and the capital is Burhānpur, situated four *kos* from Asir. 4. *Berar*. The capital of this province is Ellichpur, and its famous fortress is called Gawil. It is built on the top of a hill, and is noted above all the fortresses in that country for strength and security. The whole of the third province and a part of the fourth is in the Payin-ghāt. The '*jamā* *or total revenue of the four provinces is two Arabs of dams, equivalent to five crores of rupees.*' Both from a civil and military point of view, Aurangzeb's appointment proved particularly happy for the Empire.

Shāhū's submission.

'Sāhū had declined entering the service of Adil Khān, and refused to surrender Junir and the other fortresses to the Imperial officers. Adil Khān,

therefore, sent his forces, under the command of Randaula, to co-operate with the Imperial army in the destruction of Sāhū, and the reduction of his fortresses.' This was accomplished at last by Khān-zamān, who, however, succumbed at the end of this struggle and died at Daulatabad 'from a complication of diseases of long standing......Shayista Khān was appointed to succeed him in his command.'

According to Abdu-l Hamīd Lahori, whose narrative we have followed so far, 'When the place (Māhuli) was hard pressed, Sāhu wrote repeatedly to Khān-zamān, offering to surrender the fortress on condition of being received into the Imperial service. He was informed that if he wished to save his life, he must come to terms with Adil Khān, for such was the Emperor's command. He was also advised to be quick in doing so, if he wished to escape from the swords of the besiegers. So he was compelled to make his submission to Adil Khān, and he besought that a treaty might be made with him. After the arrival of the treaty, he made some absurd inadmissible demands, and withdrew from the agreement he had made. But the siege was pressed on, and the final attack drew near, when Sāhu came out of the fort and met Randaula half way down the hill, and surrendered himself with the young Nizām. He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khān, and to surrender the fortress of Junir and the other forts to Imperial generals....Accordingly, the forts of Junir, Trimbak, Tringalwari, Haris, Judhan, Jund and Harsira, were delivered over to Khān-zamān.......Randaula under the order of Adil Khān placed the young Nizām in the hands of Khān-zamān, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Sāhū. The last of the Nizām Shāhs, here referred to, was also imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, where there were two other of the Nizāms—one of whom was made prisoner at the capture of Ahmadnagar in the reign of Jahāngir, and the other at the downfall of Daulatabad in the present reign.'[1]

This brought about the final extinction of the Nizām-shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar. "Thus after forty years of strife (1595-1636)," writes Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, "the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The position of the Emperor was asserted beyond challenge, his boundaries clearly defined, and his suzerainty over the southern kingdoms formally established."[2]

Golkonda.

The abject surrender of Kutb Shāh to the imperious demands of Shāh Jahān, described above, was due to several causes. In the first place, the Kutb-shāhī had felt the might of the Mughal arms as early as 1629, when Bakir Khān, the Imperial Governor of Orissa, captured the strategic

1. Ibid., pp. 51-61.
2. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, p. 41.

stronghold of Mansurgarh in the north of the kingdom. This was followed, a year later, by the invasion of Telingana by Naziri Khān, the seizure of Kandhar,[1] and the reduction of nearly a third of that province. Secondly, Golkonda was weakened by her internal squabbles. Mīr Jumla, a Persian adventurer from Ardistan, who started life as a jeweller, had entered the service of Kutb Shāh, and risen to the position of the prime-minister. Ultimately, by virtue of his ability also as a general, he threatened to usurp the throne itself. Mīr Jumla, 'in whose hands was the entire administration of Kutub-l Mulk's kingdom,' according to the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* 'had, after a severe struggle with the Karnātakis, brought under subjection, in addition to a powerful fort, a tract of country measuring 150-*kos* in length, and 20 or 30 in breadth, and yielding a revenue of 40 *lacs* of rupees. It also contained mines teeming with diamonds, and no one of Kutbu-l Mulk's ancestors had ever been able to gain possession of any portion of it. Having destroyed several strong forts built by the Karnātakis, he had brought this country into his power.'[2] His jealous master fearing Mīr Jumla's growing power imprisoned his son. So, Mīr Jumla appealed to the Mughal Court for intervention.

Aurangzeb's second Viceroyalty (1653-57).

The ambitious and aggressive Aurangzeb, who had been viceroy in the Deccan for eight years, from 1636 to 1644, was again in the south at this time. In 1637 he had gone to the capital for his own marriage with Dilras Bano Begum, daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān. Again in 1644 he went to Agra to see his sister Jahānara who was dangerously ill, being accidentally burnt, her skirts having caught fire over a candle. "She hovered

1. 'Naziri Khān had been placed in command of a force, with instructions to conquer the kingdom of Telingana. He resolved upon reducing the fort of Kandhar (about 75 miles, east of Dharur, and 25 miles south-west of Nānder), which was exceedingly strong, and the most famous one of that country......The garrison kept up a discharge of rockets, mortars, stones and granades, but the storming parties pressed on. The conflict raged from mid-day till sunset, but the wall of the fortress was not sufficiently levelled and the defenders kept up such a heavy fire that the assailants were forced to retire. At night the trenches were carried forward, and preparations were made for firing the other mines. The garrison saw that the place must fall, and......made offers of surrender, which were accepted, and the Imperial troops took possession of the fortress......The siege had lasted for four months and 19 days, and the place fell on the 15th *Shawwal*.' *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 25-7).

2. E. & D., op. cit., p. 108. Karnātakis here mean the subjects of the Raja of Chandragiri, representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty.

between life and death for four months, and was not finally cured until November."[1] Mysteriously enough, when Aurangzeb was still in Agra, he was superseded in the South, and after a little over eight months sent to Gujarat (Feb. 16, 1645). In January, 1647, he was transferred to Balkh, Badakhshan and Kandahar, whence, for no fault of his, he had to return discomfited in 1652. Aurangzeb's pride was mortified, and he desired to redeem his reputation by persisting in the futile north-western campaign. But Shāh Jahān had lost faith in him; he said, 'If I had believed you capable of taking Kandahar, I should not have recalled your army.' Nevertheless, as Lane-Poole has observed, the campaigns in Afghanistan and beyond the Hindukush, "were of the greatest service to Aurangzeb. They put him in touch with the Imperial army, and enabled him to prove his courage and tactics in the eyes of the best soldiers in the land. The generals learnt to appreciate him at his true value, and the men discovered that their prince was as cool and steady a leader as the best officer in India. He had gone over the mountains a reputed devotee, with no military record to give him prestige. He came back an approved general: a prince, whose wisdom, coolness, endurance, and resolution had been tested and acclaimed in three arduous campaigns. The wars over the north-west frontier had ended as such wars have ended since, but they had done for Aurangzeb what they did for Stewart and Roberts: they placed their leader in the front rank of Indian generals."[2]

Such was Aurangzeb when he assumed, for a second time, the viceroyalty of the Deccan (1653). Though he lingered for about nine months at Burhānpur, enthralled by the charms of Hirā Bāi *alias* Zainābādi Mahal, he soon took up his headquarters at Daulatabad, and set about improving the economic condition of his new charge. This, however, we shall consider a little later. With his economic resources considerably increased by his wise fiscal reforms, burning for an opportunity to restore his prestige with his father by some fresh conquests, and not a little enthused at the prospect of striking a blow at the heretical Shia Sultans of the Deccan, Aurangzeb grasped the occasion provided by the invitation of Mīr

1. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 401. Smith discredits the familiar story of the English surgeon, Gabriel Boughton (Bowden), having cured the Princess in return for trade privileges for the E. I. Co. Boughton did not proceed to Agra until 1645, when Jahānara had already got well. (Ibid., n. 1)
2. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, pp. 346-47.

Jumla, with great alacrity. Determined and aggressive Imperialism was never at a loss for excuses!

Golkonda was in arrears of tribute. Abdu-lla Kutb Shāh was ordered to make good the dues at once. He was also asked to release the interned members of Mīr Jumla's family. But the real attitude and intentions of Aurangzeb are revealed in his unmistakable mandate to his son, Muhammad Sultān, whom he sent in advance.

'Qutb-ul-Mulk is a coward and will probably offer no resistance. Surround his palace with your artillery and also post a detachment to bar his flight to Golkonda. But before doing so, send a carefully chosen messenger to him, saying, "I had so long been expecting that you would meet me and hospitably ask me to stay with you. But, as you have not done so, I have myself come to you." Immediately on delivering this message, attack him impetuously, and, if you can manage it, *lighten his neck of the burden of his head.* The best means of achieving this plan are cleverness, promptitude, and lightness of hand."[1]

Though Kutb Shāh's neck was not lightened of the burden of his head, the expected happened. The fabulous riches of Golkonda were plundered, and Aurangzeb, who joined his son on Feb. 6, 1656, would have wholly annexed the kingdom, but for Shāh Jahān's countermanding *farmān*. Accordingly, the siege was raised on 30th March. Peace was concluded with the Kutb Shāh, whose daughter was also married to Aurangzeb's son, Muhammad Sultān, who (by a secret understanding) was to succeed Abdu-lla on the throne of Golkonda; considerable remissions were made in the tribute due from the Kutb Shāh; the district of Rangir (Manikdrug and Chinoor) was ceded to the Empire; and Mīr Jumla was admitted into the Imperial service, given the title of Muazzam Khān with rank of 6,000 and on the death of Sadullah Khān appointed prime-minister of Shāh Jahān. "The deceased minister," according to Smith, "although unfortunate in his military adventures, was reputed one of the best Muhammadan administrator whom India has known."[2]

Bijapur.

For twenty years, since the treaty of 1636, Bijapur had enjoyed considerable prosperity under her able Sultan Muhammad Adil Shāh. But, unfortunately,

1. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, I, p. 208. The Court historian Inayat Khān, however, puts the blame on Kutb Shāh who, according to him, 'under the influence of the fumes of arrogance, would not heed, etc.' (E. & D., op. cit., pp. 109-10).
2. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 407.

this great ruler died on Nov. 4, 1656, leaving his kingdom to his eighteen years old son and factions. Aurangzeb, ever watchful for an opportunity, obtained permission from Shāh Jahān 'to settle the affairs of Bijapur in any way he thought fit.' Though Bijapur was not a vassal state, he put forward a claim to settle its succession on the absurd plea that the boy-Sultan was not the son of his predecessor but only an obscure pretender.

The Mughal armies once again flooded the Adil-shāhī territory. Mīr Jumla was called from the north to co-operate with Aurangzeb. The important fortress of Bidar (which had come into the possession of Bijapur in 1609) was the first to be besieged.

'This strong fortress was 4,500 yards (*darā*) in circumference, and twelve yards high; and it had three deep ditches twenty-five yards (*gaz*) wide, and fifteen yards deep, cut in the stone. The Prince (Aurangzeb) went out with Muazzam Khān (Mīr Jumla) and reconnoitred the fort on all sides. He settled the places for the lines of approach, and named the forces which were to maintain them. Notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up from the bastions and the citadel, in the course of ten days Muazzam Khān and the other brave commanders pushed their guns up to the very edge of the ditch and began to fill it up. Several times the garrison sallied forth and made fierce attacks upon the trenches, but each time they were driven back with a great loss in killed and wounded ......' At the end of March, 1657, however, Bidar fell after a gallant resistance. 'The commandant of the fortress (Sidi Marjan), with great humility, sued for quarter and as he was mortally wounded and unable to move, he sent his sons with the keys of the fortress. They were graciously received by the Prince who presented them with *khilats*, and promised them the Imperial favour. On the day after giving up the keys, the Prince entered the city, and proceeding to a mosque which had been built 200 years before, in the reign of the Bahmani Sultāns, he caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of the Emperor......This strong fortress was thus taken in twenty-seven days. Twelve *lacs* of rupees in money, and eight *lacs* of rupees in lead, gun-powder, stores, and other munition of fortress, were obtained, besides two hundred and thirty guns.'[1]

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1. 'Bidar is a pleasant, well built city,' writes the same chronicler, 'and stands on the borders of Telingana. It is related in the historians of Hindustan, that Bidar was the seat of government of the Rais of the Dakhin, and that the Rais of the Karnātak, Mahrātta (Country), and Telingana were subject to the Rai of Bidar. Daman (Damayanti), the beloved of King Nala of Mālva, whose story Shaikh Faizi has told in the poem entitled *Nal o Daman*, was daughter of Bhim Sen, the *marzban* of Bidar. Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Tughlak, first subdued the place. After that it passed into the hands of the Bahmanis, and subsequently into the possession of the Kings of Bijapur. By the favour of God, it now forms part of the Imperial dominions. *Amal-i Sālih*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 124-6.

Next, 'Intelligence reached the Prince that large bodies of the forces of Adil Khān were collecting at Kulbarga, and preparing for war. He consequently sent Mahābat Khān, with 15,000 well-mounted cavalry to chastise these forces, and not to leave one trace of cultivation in that country. Every building and habitation was to be thrown down, and the land was to be made a dwelling for the owls and kites....Mahābat Khān (II) then ravaged Kalyāni, and continued his march. Every day the black-coated masses of the enemy appeared in the distance, but they continued to retreat........'[1]

Kalyāni, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas (40 miles west of Bidar), was besieged by the Mughals in May, 1657; it capitulated, after a brave defence, on 1st Aug. 1657. Now the road to Bijapur lay open to the invaders. But, as in the case of Golkonda before, Shāh Jahān at the nick of the moment called off the campaign. Peace, however, left Bidar, Kalyāni, and Parenda in the possession of the Mughals. The Sultan also agreed to pay an indemnity of 1½ crores, a third of which was remitted by Shāh Jahān. The illness of Shāh Jahān and the ensuing disorders soon changed the whole face of affairs.

Disputed Succession (1657-58).

The sickening tale of the fratricidal war of succession need not detain us long. Though it lasted only a little less than a year, from the illness of Shāh Jahān, in September 1657, to the coronation of Aurangzeb, in July 1658, its trailing cloud of crime cast a portentous shadow over the future of the Empire. Kāmrān, Askari, Hindāl, Hakim, Salim, Khūsrū, and Khurram had all been guilty of rebellion against their own ruling house. Humāyun, otherwise humane, had been forced into a fratricidal war in spite of himself by the treachery of his brothers; Jahāngīr, out of sheer impatience, had opened a dark chapter in the history of the Mughal Empire for the emulation of his successors; Shāh Jahān had secured his throne by the virtual murder of his brothers Khūsrū, Parvīz, Shahriyār, and other relations. Aurangzeb was only following too closely the examples of his predecessors. The unfortunate, though perhaps unconscious, motto of the house seemed to be: '*Kingship knows no kinship*'; the watchword of the brothers who were now at death-grips with one another appeared to be: '*takht ya takhta*'—either crown or coffin.

Princes Dārā Shikoh, Shūja, Aurangzeb, and Murād were all uterine brothers. Their ages were respectively 43, 41, 39, and 33

1. Ibid., pp. 126-28.

years, at the time of this fateful struggle. The eldest seemed to be the father's favourite, and would have normally succeeded to the throne. Though he spent most of his time at the Capital with Shāh Jahān, he was nominally the viceroy of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces. Shūja was governor of Bengal and Orissa ; Aurangzeb of the Deccan ; and Murād of Gujarat. All four were reputed soldiers, though each of the other three yielded the palm to Aurangzeb in point of steadiness and strength of character, astuteness, and generalship. In religious outlook also, Aurangzeb was as determined to uphold orthodox Sunni Islām as his brothers were either latitudinarian or namby-pamby. Dārā was eclectic like Akbar, Shūja was Shia, and Murād, at least for political purposes, a hater of heresies. Hence the first combination of the younger two against the elder[1] ; once the discomfiture of the former was achieved the latter were quits. Aurangzeb had the same axe for all, though Dārā was executed to all appearances, on a charge of heresy and Murād on a charge of murder. Shūja escaped beyond the north-eastern frontier only to be done to death by the Arakanese. Dārā's son, Suleiman Shikoh, was not treated more unkindly than Aurangzeb's own son, Muhammad Sultan, for crimes which were not dissimilar in the eyes of the fanatical Aurangzeb : the former had fought for his father, and the latter for his father-in-law (and uncle) Shuja, who were equally heretical and therefore equally hateful,— both were imprisoned and then 'sent to hell.' But in spite of all this Aurangzeb was not a blood-thirsty fiend : as Smith writes, Aurangzeb, while not shrinking from any severity deemed necessary to secure his throne, had no taste for indiscriminate, superfluous

1. Cf. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 324-26. "M. Amin, the author of *Zafarnāmah*, says that after the failure of the 2nd Quandahar campaign, Shuja and Aurangzeb, on their way to their respective provinces, arrived together at Delhi, where they stopped for six days to cement the bond of friendship between them (their common hatred of their eldest brother Dārā)........Shuja betrothed his daughter to Sultan Muhammad and Aurangzeb betrothed his daughter to Zain-al-abidīn. On the receipt of the report of the serious illness of the Emperor, Aurangzeb, Shuja, and Murād opened a brisk correspondence between them. To expedite the exchange of letters, relays were established at convenient stages between Gujarat and Bengal by way of the Deccan and Orissa. Some of these letters which have survived destruction and have come down to us unfold a thrilling story of the plans made by these brothers to overthrow Dāra. It is clear that the advance of Shuja from Bengal, and of Murād and Aurangzeb from the Deccan was according to a preconcerted agreement among them, in which they promised to meet near Agra....'if the enemy attacks only one of us, the other two should try to prevent him.'"

blood-shed; and when he felt his power established beyond danger of dispute by the sons of his brothers, was willing to allow the youths to live."[1] Nay, he went a step further and married his two daughters, the third and the fifth respectively to Sipihr Shikokh (younger son of Dārā) and Izid Baksh (son of Murād).

'As at a signal, straight the sons prepare
For open force, and rush to sudden war;
Meeting like winds broke loose upon the main
To prove by arms whose fate it was to reign.'

The Fratricidal War.

From the point of view of our study of the Empire no purpose would be served by going into the details of this war. When all is stated, it only illustrated the basic weakness of a system that could be set at naught at the merest illness of the Emperor; the darker side of the family tradition of the house of Tīmūr that exalted pelf and power above everything else; and the consummate ability of Aurangzeb in diplomacy and war in contrast with the political impotency of his brothers. The circumstances which led to the discomfiture and death of the weaker parties may be briefly stated as follows :—

1. When Shāh Jahān fell ill, in September 1657, he formally nominated Dārā Shikoh his successor, to avert the possible tragedy of a war of succession.[2]

2. In spite of this, on the 5th December 1657, Murād proclaimed himself Emperor at Ahmadabad, struck coins and had the *khutba* read in his own name.

3. Shūja did the same at Rājmahal in Bengal, and marched

1. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 412.

2. According to the *Inayat-nāma* (cited ibid., p. 325), Aurangzeb wrote to Murād : 'I understand that the influence of the enemy (Dārā) in administration, transfers and appointments, has attained undesirable proportions. He is now trying to collect treasure and an army.... We should be very cautious at this time and should not write anything undesirable in our letters.' He also wrote to the Emperor (ibid., pp. 329-30) : 'You no longer hold the control of political or financial affairs; it is the eldest Prince who has usurped it......As he cannot succeed against me, it would be better for him to retire to his *jāgīr* in the Punjab, and leave your service in my hands.

But Manucci, who was in the service of Dārā, has a different story from that implied above : 'Some authors,' he writes, 'recording what they have been told, say that Dārā seized his father and divested him of his power by force; but I assert this to be a great untruth, for I know, and have tested it that Dārā was quite submissive.' (*Pepys*, p. 51).

with an army and fleet towards Benares which he reached on January 24, 1658.

4. Aurangzeb, quick to apprehend the situation, but too shrewd to precipitate matters, proposed to act, not in his own name, but in the interests of Islām and his younger brother Murād. The Empire was to be saved from the heresies of Dārā and Shūja ; a third of the booty was to be given to Murād together with the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Sindh : the rest to be retained by Aurangzeb himself.

5. Mīr Jumla who was called to the north, by order of Shāh Jahān, was not allowed by Aurangzeb to proceed from the Deccan. He was arrested and his army thus made available for Aurangzeb. Smith says, " The circumstances indicate that probably Mīr Jumla connived at his own arrest. Certainly he did not resent it, nor did he fail to continue to give his ally invaluable support when released......Mīr Jumla's fine park of artillery proved to be extremely useful."[1]

6. At the beginning of February 1658, Aurangzeb too assumed Imperial prerogatives. On 3rd April he crossed the Narmada and joined forces with Murād, near Ujjain.

7. On 15 April, 1658, the Imperial army, under Kāsim Khān and Rāja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, was defeated at Dharmat, (14 miles s-w. of Ujjain) by the rebel Princes. Jaswant Singh fled from the battle-field, but his wife would not give him shelter after such rank cowardice !

8. Dārā Shikoh then encountered the rebels at Samugarh (8 miles to the east of Agra fort), on May 29, 1658. A mere accident in this well-contested battle, in which the Rajputs ' did honour to the traditions of their race,' turned the tide in favour of Aurangzeb. " *The battle* (of Samugarh)", as Smith says, " *really decided the war of succession.* All the subsequent efforts to retrieve the cause then lost, whether made by Dārā Shikoh himself, by his son Suleiman Shikoh, or by Shūja and Murād Bakhsh, were in vain. Aurangzeb proved himself to be by far the ablest of the princes in every phase of the contest, which was not ended until two years later, in May 1660, when Shūja met his miserable fate."[2]

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1. *O. H.*, p. 410.
2. Ibid., p. 411.

The success of Aurangzeb was largely due to his better equipment and generalship. Manucci observes that although Dārā's army made

9. On 8th June 1658 Aurangzeb took possession of Agra fort and imprisoned Shāh Jahān therein for life.[1] Shāh Jahān died there on 22nd January 1666, gazing for the last time on the tomb of his beloved wife with whom he now lies buried.

10. Murād was apprehended on June 25, 1658, and finally imprisoned and executed at Gwalior, in December 1661. A charge of murder was brought against him by the son of Ali Naki who was Murād's one time Dīwān. The Prince was tried and condemned by a Kāzi 'with all the forms of law.'

12. On July 21, 1658, Aurangzeb had himself crowned, though his formal enthronement was deferred until June 1659.

12. Suleiman Shikoh had defeated Shūja at Barhānpur (near Benares) in February 1658. Aurangzeb again routed him at Khajwah (Fathpur District), on January 5, 1659. Thence he fled to Arakan where he met with his death in May 1660.

13. Dārā was hunted from place to place through Multan, Sindh, Kathiawar and Gujarat. He was betrayed once near Ajmer, by Jaswant of Jodhpur. Finally, while he was trying to escape to Persia, he was again betrayed by Malik Jiwan Khān, the Afghan chief of Dhandar (near Bolan Pass), on June 9, 1658. The death of his beloved wife Nadira Begam (daughter of Parvīz) had much

'a brave and splendid show,' the greater number of them 'were not very warlike; they were butchers, barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and such-like. It is true that on their horses and with their arms they looked well at a review, but they had no heart, and knew nothing of war.' (*Pepys*, p. 53). 'Dārā', he further points out, 'had not sufficient experience in matters of war, having been brought up among the dancing-women and buffoons of his father, and gave undue credit to the words of the traitors.' (Ibid., p. 59).

1. Manucci refers in touching terms to the sufferings and humiliation of Shāh Jahān in his prison life, to which he was eye-witness: 'Going thus several times,' he says, 'I noted the imprisonment of Shāh Jahān was closer than can be expressed. There passed not a day, while I and others were in conversation with the Governor (Itibar Khān), when there did not come in eunuchs to whisper into his ear an account of all the words and acts of Shāh Jahān, and even what passed among the wives, ladies, and slave girls. Sometimes, smiling at what the eunuchs told him, he would make the company share in what was going on inside, adding some foul expressions in disparagement of Shāh Jahān. Not content with this even, he sometimes allowed it to be seen that he treated him as a miserable slave.......so that by force of ill-treatment, the wretched old man might die. I do not know how it was with the others who were present when this was done, but I certainly felt it much. I knew the dignity with which Shāh Jahān lived when he was free and Emperor of Hindustan; it was doubly sad when remembered that Itibar Khān was formerly slave of this same Shāh Jahān, by whom he was given to Aurangzeb.' (Ibid., pp. 111-12).

distracted Dārā. 'Death was painted in his eyes. . . .Everywhere he saw only destruction, and losing his senses became utterly heedless of his own affairs.' In the words of Khāfī Khān, 'Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dārā, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium. . . .At the end of *Zi-l hijja*, 1069 (Sept. 1659), the order was given for Dārā Shikoh to be put to death under a legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatized from the law, had vilified religion, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity. After he was slain, his body was placed in a *howda* and carried round the city (as once before when he was alive). So once alive and once dead he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate. He was buried in the tomb of Humāyun.'[1]

Dārā, like Khūsrū, was an enlightened and popular Prince. Bernier, who was an eye-witness to these tragic happenings, records: 'Everywhere I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dārā in the most touching language. . . . . .from every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks,. . . . . .men, women, and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves.'[2] Several works are attributed to Dārā Shikoh. (1) *Sirr-ul-asrar*, a translation of the 50 *Upanishads*; (2) *Majmua-ul-Baharain*, a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu *Vedānta* with *Sufi* equivalents; (3) *Dialogue with Baba Lal*; (4) *Sakinat-ul-awliya* containing lives of the Muslim saints; (5) *Risala-i-Lagnuma;* and (6) a Persian translation of the *Atharva-veda*. The charges

1. *Muntakhabu-l Lubab*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 244-46.
2. *Travels*, II, p. 544.
'Dārā,' writes Bernier, 'was not deficient in good qualities: he was courteous in conversation, quick in repartee, polite, and extremely liberal: but he entertained too exalted an opinion of himself; believed he could accomplish everything by the powers of his own mind, and imagined that there existed no man from whose counsel he could derive benefit. He spoke disdainfully of those who ventured to advise him and thus deterred his sincerest friends from disclosing the secret machinations of his brothers. He was also very irascible; apt to menace; abusive and insulting even to the greatest Omarahs; but this anger was seldom more than momentary. Born a Muhammadan, he continued to join in the exercises of that religion; but although thus publicly professing his adherence to its faith, Dārā was in private a Gentile with Gentiles and a Christian with Christians. He had constantly about him some of the Pundits or Gentile doctors, on whom he bestowed large pensions. He had, moreover, for some time lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the Rev. Fr. Brusse, a Jesuit in the truth and propriety of which he began to acquiesce.'

levelled against him were (*a*) That he conversed with Brahmans, Yogis, and Sanyasis; (*b*) that he regarded the Hindu *Vedas* as revealed literature; (*c*) that he wore rings and ornaments with the inscription '*Prabhu*' on them; and (*d*) that he disregarded the injunctions of Islām regarding the observance of the fast of *Ramzān*, etc.

VI. GOLDEN AGE OF THE EMPIRE

The Empire, for which the brothers fought so furiously, was yet to grow to its fullest extent in the next reign; but it is certain that it was never more prosperous than during the thirty years (1627-57) of Shāh Jahān's rule. In spite of the early rebellions, which were soon crushed; in spite of the foreign wars of aggression beyond the frontiers, which cost enormously with no return whatsoever; in spite of the famine in the Deccan and Gujarat, which devastated a vast portion of the country; and in spite of the constant fighting in the Deccan, which, while it resulted in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bijapur, also involved a great drain in the resources of the Empire, the age of Shāh Jahān showed much that was glorious, and many an unmistakable sign of unique prosperity, to justify this period being described as the Golden Age of the Empire.

Prosperity.

Rai Bhāra Mal, in his *Lubb-at-tawārikh*, records with admiration: 'The means employed by the King (Shāh Jahān) in these happy times to protect and nourish his people, his knowledge of what made for welfare, his administration by honest and intelligent officers, the auditing of accounts, his care of the crown-lands and their tenants, and encouragement of agriculture and the collection of revenue, together with his punishment and admonition of evil doers, oppressors and malcontents, all tended to the prosperity of the Empire. The pargana which had brought in three *lacs* in Akbar's reign now yielded ten, though some fell short, and those who increased the revenue by careful agriculture were rewarded, and *vice versa*. The expenditure of former reigns was not a fourth of the cost of this reign, and yet the King quickly amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessors.'[1]

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1. Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 110.
According to Moreland (*The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 126), "Under Akbar the rapidly increasing Imperial expenditure was

European Criticism.

European critics, partly judging by modern standards, and partly reluctant to acknowledge that India was ever more prosperous than in our own times, are rather chary to admit the truth of the above description, except grudgingly and with qualifications. Thus we come across statements like the following: "The reign of Shāh Jahān, which covers nearly thirty years, from 1627 to 1658, is *usually regarded* as the golden period of Mughal rule. It was *outwardly* a period of great prosperity. Foreign wars were few and unimportant; at home there was peace and *apparent* plenty, and the royal treasury seemed full to overflowing. *Yet despite* the vast treasure which Shāh Jahān had inherited from his father and grandfather; *despite* the growth of a large trade between Indian and western Asia, which was *rendered possible by the existence of a strong Government in Persia; despite* the establishment of the export trade with Europe, which certainly brought *some* profit to the Mughal Empire; and *in spite of other apparent advantages, the reign of Shāh Jahān sounded the knell of the Empire and of its economic system.*" The writer further elaborates: "To meet the expenditure of Shāh Jahān's *extravagant bureaucracy* and to pay for the splendid architectural monuments, which alone would render his reign memorable, *an insupportable burden was laid upon the agricultural and industrial masses,* upon whom the very life of the Empire ultimately depended. *Thus was engendered the national insolvency* which, becoming more marked during the reign of his successor, proved one of the most potent factors in the subsequent disintegrations of the great organization which he inherited from Akbar and Jahāngīr."[1]

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more than covered by the growth of the Empire, and reserves in cash were accumulated. Jahāngīr neglected the administration,....and...... the annual income from the Reserved tracts fell to 50 lakhs of rupees, while the annual expenditure was 150 lakhs, and the accumulated treasure was drawn on for large sums. *Shāhjahān on his accession, put the finances on a sound basis: he reserved tracts calculated to yield 150 lakhs, as income, fixed the normal expenditure at 100 lakhs, and had thus a large recurring balance for emergencies. Expenditure rose far above this limit but careful administration raised the reserved income to 300 lakhs (the figure given in Maāsir-ul-Umra) by 1547, and to nearly 400 lakhs by the end of the reign.* Aurangzeb at first aimed to maintain the balance between income and expenditure, but his long wars in the Deccan were ruinous, and at his death only 10 or 12 krors of rupees were left in the treasury, a sum which was rapidly dissipated by his successors."

1. Edwards and Garrett, op. cit., p. 99. (Italics mine.)

A more skilful piece of subtle disparagement, which looks like impartial appreciation, is difficult to find. We do not seek to extenuate the crimes and shortcomings of Shāh Jahān's reign; but it is necessary to admit the undoubted prosperity of howsoever short a period without mixing up with it matters of an extraneous nature. Discussion of 'extravagant bureaucracies' and 'insupportable burdens laid upon the agricultural and industrial masses,' as well as the 'engendering of national insolvency,' would land us in controversies far beyond the scope of this work; but it is certainly not permissible to father the sins of his successors upon Shāh Jahān. In the first place the splendid 'extravagance' of Shāh Jahān was never imitated by his puritanical successor Aurangzeb;[1] on the contrary, the solicitude for the agriculturists, from whatever motive, was continued by Aurangzeb; and lastly, the springs of Aurangzeb's actions are not to be traced to the initiative of his father whom he hated, imprisoned, and superseded. The complexity of forces that brought about 'the disintegrations of the great organization' of the Mughal Empire will be discussed in the proper place.

To cite another example of the undue severity of biased criticism, Vincent Smith observes: "Shāh Jahān has received from most modern historians, and especially from Elphinstone, treatment *unduly favourable*. The magnificence of his court, the extent and wealth of his empire, the comparative peace which was preserved during his reign, and the unique beauty of his architectural masterpiece, the Tāj, have combined to dazzle the vision of his modern biographers, most of whom have *slurred over his many crimes and exaggerated such virtues as he possessed*."[2] In his zeal to correct this 'unduly favourable' picture of Shāh Jahān, Smith has overshot the mark, and 'slurred over his many' virtues and 'exaggerated such' crimes as he was guilty of. Apart from Shāh Jahān's personal failings as a son, as a brother, as a father, and finally as a widower, "In affairs of state," says Smith, "he was cruel, treacherous, and unscrupulous"; though he does not fail to add "*perhaps not worse than most other kings of his time*, but certainly not better." Then, "He had little skill as a military leader," the

1. "The puritan Aurangzeb cared for none of those things...... generally speaking, the atmosphere of Aurangzeb's court was unfavourable to the arts." (Smith, *O. H.*, p. 419).

2. *O. H.*, p. 415. (Italics mine.)

organization and command of his army was inefficient. "*Shāh Jahān's 'justice' was merely the savage, unfeeling ferocity of the ordinary Asiatic despot, exercised without respect of persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion.*" (Shades of Charles I and Louis XIV bear witness!) Peter Mundy and "Other travellers bear similar testimony to *the misgovernment of the country.*" Bernier, "a highly trained observer," who was "deeply interested as a student in what he saw," and "free from personal bias for or against either Shāh Jahān or Aurangzeb," is one that "cannot be brushed aside" as "a hostile European witness." "He speaks of the actual state of the country at the most brilliant period of Mogul rule, when the dynasty was fully established, rich beyond compare, and undisturbed by foreign aggression." His "pessimistic observations" and "gloomy impressions" regarding "the upper provinces" are then faithfully cited: 'Thus do ruin and desolation overspread the land' (Bernier's *Travels*, p. 231.) "Similar ruin and tyranny had been the fate of the Deccan during the years from 1644 to 1653, in the interval between the first and second viceroyalty of Aurangzeb," when a great famine devastated the Deccan and Gujarat. "The prodigal expenditure and unexampled splendour of the court which occupy so prominent a place in most of the current descriptions of Shāh Jahān's rule had therefore *a dark background of suffering and misery seldom exposed to view.*" Then follow "a few phrases of painful vividness" from the pen of "the official historian, Abdu-l Hamīd," who "contrary to the frequent practice of writers of his kind, makes no attempt to disguise the horror of the calamity."

Yet Smith denies the 'gracious kindness and bounty' of Shāh Jahān described by the *same* writer; for, "So far as Mundy saw, *nothing to help the suffering people was done by the government;* though "Meantime, the camp of Shāh Jahān at Burhānpur was filled with provisions of all kinds." Of course "*No statistics are on record*"; but we are not without imagination! Though "Even the nature of the consequent pestilence *is not mentioned,*" "it is almost certain that cholera must have carried off myriads of victims." For, "Sir Richard Temple, the editor of Mundy's work, has good reason for saying that 'it is worthwhile to read Mundy's unimpassioned, matter of fact observations on this famine,' *in order to realize the immensity of the difference in the conditions of life as existing under the rule of the Mogul dynasty when at the height of*

its glory and those prevailing under the modern British government."[1]

Nevertheless, Elphinstone is perfectly right when he describes the Age of Shāh Jahān as "*the most prosperous ever known in India, ... together with a larger share of good government than often falls to the lot of Asiatic nations.* Notwithstanding Shāh Jahān's love of ease and pleasure ....he never remitted his vigilance over his internal government; and by this, and the judicious choice of his ministers, he prevented any relaxation in the system, and even introduced important improvements—such as his survey of the Deccan.[2]

Other Side of the Picture:

1. *O. H.*, pp. 415-18, 393-94.

2. "His ministers were men of the highest ability. Sad-Allah Allāmi, a converted Hindu, was the most upright statesman of his age; and Ali Mardān and Asaf Khān were men of approved integrity and energy." (Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 15).

The improvement of the administration in the Deccan was the work of Aurangzeb and Murshid Quli Khān. The former at that time was Viceroy in the Deccan. The latter was a native of Khurasan who had come to India in the train of Ali Mardān Khān, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, who had come over to the Mughal side. He is said to have combined in himself 'the valour of a soldier with the administrative capacity of a civil servant.'

The maladministration of predecessors had considerably reduced the treasury and revenues. "At this time the civil and military expenditure of the Deccan, exclusive of the salary derived by the officers from their *jāgīrs*, produced an annual deficit of Rs. 20,36,000, which was made good by drawing the reserves stored in the treasuries of the Deccan........ When appointing him to the Deccan, *Shāh Jahān had urged Aurangzib to pay special attention to the improvement of the peasantry and the extension of cultivation.* Aurangzeb had promised to do his best for these objects.......The new *diwan's* reform consisted in extending Todar Mal's system to the Deccan. First he worked hard to gather the scattered *ryots* together and restore the normal life of the villages by giving them their full population and proper chain of officers. Everywhere wise *amins* and honest surveyors were deputed to measure the land, to prepare the record of well marked out holdings (*raqba*), and to distinguish arable land from rocky soils and water-courses. Where a village had lost its headman (*muqadam*) he took care to appoint a new headman from the persons whose character gave the best promise of their readiness to promote cultivation and take sympathetic care of the peasantry. The poorer *ryots* were granted loans (*taqavi*) from the public treasury, for the purchase of cattle, seeds and other needful materials of agriculture, and the advance was recovered at harvest by instalments."

His second reform was to adopt the system to the varying needs of each locality. Thirdly, "The revenue at the fixed rate of so many Rs. per *bhīga* was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed-time to harvest and its market price, and actually measuring the sown area. This became the prevalent system in the *subahs* of Mughal Deccan and was known for centuries afterwards as the '*dhara* of Murshid Quli Khān.' His excellent system, backed by his constant vigilance and personal supervision, led to the improvement of agriculture and increase of the revenue in a few years." (Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 26-9.)

"Khāfī Khān, the best historian of those times, gives his opinion, that, although Akbar was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a lawgiver, yet *for the order and arrangement of his territory and finances and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shāh Jahān*....

"Mandelslo describes Agra as at least twice as large as Isfahan (then in its greatest glory), with fine streets, good shops, and numerous baths and caravanserais. Nor was this prosperity confined to royal residences : all travellers speak with admiration of the grandeur of the cities, even in remote provinces, and of the fertile and productive countries in which they stood.

"Those who look on India in its present state may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity ; but the deserted cities, ruined palaces, and choked-up aqueducts which we will see, with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the decayed cause-ways, wells, and caravanserais of the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary travellers in convincing us that those historians had good grounds for their commendation....

"Shāh Jahān was the most magnificent prince that ever appeared in India. His retinue, his state establishments, his largesses and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond what they had attained to under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact, that they neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances....

"Notwithstanding the unamiable character given to him in his youth the personal conduct of Shāh Jahān seems to have been blameless when on the throne.[1] His treatment of his people was beneficent and paternal, and his liberal sentiments towards those around him cannot be better shown than by the confidence which

1. "The popular view that the life of a Mughal Emperor was an increasing round of pleasure, lasciviousness, sport and sensuality, is refuted by the very minute details of his (Shāh Jahān's) daily routine, which we come across in contemporary Persian histories. This routine was strictly adhered to, whether the Emperor was in camp or at the capital. And there is overwhelming evidence to prove that Shāh Jahān led a strenuous life, and divided his time evenly between government and sport." (Saksena, op. cit., p. 238 ; Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 1-15).

(unlike most Eastern princes) he so generously reposed in his sons.'[1]

This certainly does not seem an overdrawn or 'unduly favourable picture considering the almost unanimous verdict of unbaised observers, and in the clear light of facts. "Tavernier who had repeatedly visited most parts of India, says that *Shāh Jahān 'reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children'*; and goes on to commend the strictures of his civil Government, and speaks in high terms of the security enjoyed under it......Pietro Della Valle, who wrote in the last years of Jahāngīr (1623), when things were in a worse state than under his son, gives the following account :—'Hence, generally, all live much after a genteel way ; and they do it securely as well, because the King does not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of anything when he sees them live splendidly, and with the appearance of riches (as is often done in other Mahometan countries)."[2]

Even Bernier, whose "gloomy impressions" are emphasised by Vincent Smith,[3] writes of the prosperity of Bengal under Shāh Jahān in the following terms :—

'*Bengale abounds with every necessary of life; and it is this abundance that has induced so many Portuguese, Half-castes, and other Christians, driven from their different settlements by the Dutch, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom.. The Jesuits and Augustins, who have large churches and are permitted the free and unmolested exercise of their religion*, assured me that *Ogouli* (Hugli) alone contains from eight to nine thousand Christians, and that in other parts of the kingdom their number exceeded five-and-twenty thousand. *The rich exuberance of the Country*, together with the beauty and amiable disposition of the native women, *has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, that the Kingdom of Bengale has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure.*

'*In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great*

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 600-603.
2. Ibid., p. 600 n.
3. *O. H.*, p. 418. Smith himself does not fail to acknowledge : "Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of Shāhjahān or the efficiency of his administration, it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the climax of the Mogul dynasty and empire."—Ibid., pp. 418-19.

a variety is found. Besides the sugar,. . . . . . there is in Bengale such quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common store-house for those two kinds of Merchandise, not of Hindoustan or the Empire of the Great Mogol only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengale for the supply of the whole of the Mogol Empire, as far as Lahore and Cabol (Kabul), and generally of all those foreign nations to which the Cottons are sent . . . . The Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Kassem-Bazar where, in like manner, the English and other merchants employ a proportionate number.

'*Bengale is also the principal emporium for saltpetre. It is carried down the Ganges with great facility, and the Dutch and English send large cargoes to many parts of the Indies, and to Europe.*

'*Lastly, it is from this fruitful kingdom, that the best lac, opium, wax, civet, long pepper and various drugs are obtained ; and butter, which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numberless places.*"[1]

Shāh Jahān's Justice.

Manucci has recorded that, when his patron Bellamont (who was the exiled Charles II's ambassador to the Mughal Court) died, two English impostors, pretending to be Imperial officers, wanted to appropriate to themselves all the effects and belongings of that stranger in the Empire. When Shāh Jahān came to know of this, he ordered all the property to be restored to the rightful assignee of the dead envoy with the exception of an Arab horse 'which he kept for himself, *giving an order to pay to the said John (Young) one thousand pataca (Rs. 2,000), the price at which it had been valued. He took nothing else but the latter which was destined for*

1. *Travels*, pp. 438-40.

him.'[1] This unique conduct even towards an unknown stranger in the land but illustrates the Emperor's sense of fairness and justice towards all people. Bernier has also observed that 'in Hindoustan every acre of land is considered the property of the king, and *the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the King's domain.*'[2] In the light of these statements of disinterested Europeans, Rāi Bhāra Mal's eulogy regarding Shāh Jahān's administration of justice is not difficult to understand : Says he,

'Notwithstanding the great area of this country, plaints were so few that only one day in the week, *viz.*, Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice ; and it was rarely even then that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number generally being much less. The writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion, when honoured with an audience of the King, heard His Majesty chide the *darogha* of the Court that although so many confidential persons had been appointed to invite plaintiffs, and a day of the week was set apart exclusively with the view of dispensing justice, yet even the small number of twenty plaintiffs could but very seldom be brought into Court .....*In short, it was owing to the great solicitude evinced by the King towards the promotion of the national weal and the general tranquillity, that the people were restrained from committing offences against one another and breaking the public peace.* But if offenders were discovered, the local authorities used generally to try them on the spot (where the offence had been committed) according to law, and in concurrence with the law officers ; and if any individual, dissatisfied with the decision passed on his case, appealed to the governor or *dīwān*, or to the *kāzi* of the *suba, the matter was reviewed, and judgment was awarded with great care and discrimination lest it should be mentioned in the presence of the King that justice had not been done.* If parties were not satisfied even with these decisions, they appealed to the chief *dīwān*, or to the chief *kāzi on matters of law.* These officers instituted further inquiries, with all this care, what case, except those relating to blood and religion, could become subjects of reference to His Majesty.'[3]

Financial Administration.

Moreland has indeed pointed out that *the reign of Shāh Jahān was "a period of agrarian tranquillity,"* though the condition of the peasants became worse towards the beginning of the next reign.[4] This prosperity under Shāh Jahān was largely due to his "careful administration," which raised the income of the State beyond all

1. *A Pepys of Mughal India*, p. 45.
2. *Travels*, p. 354.
3. *Lubbu-t Tawārkh-i Hind*, E. & D., op. cit., VII pp. 172-73.
4. Moreland, op. cit., p. 131.

precedents.[1] The testimony of Rāi Bhāra Mal, already cited in confirmation of this, is sought to be disparaged by some on the ground that the actual orders of Shāh Jahān on matters therein referred to are not traceable. Moreland is certainly not correct in describing the author of the *Lubbu-t Tawārikh* as "a later writer"; for the Rāi himself speaks of 'the writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion,' being 'honoured with an audience of the King (Shāh Jahān).' His account, we repeat, unmistakably points to the efficiency, benevolence, and undoubted prosperity of Shāh Jahān's Empire.[2]

It is not possible here to make an accurate estimate of the extent of this prosperity.[3] We, therefore, give below only a few of its visible indications, from which readers might draw their own conclusions :—

1. In 1647, Shāh Jahān sent, as a thanks-offering, a jewelled candle-stick 'to the revered tomb of the Prophet (on whom be the greatest favours and blessings!), an account of which is here given ......Having selected out of the amber candle-sticks that he had amongst his private property the largest of them all, which weighed 700 *tolas*, and was worth 10,000 *rupees*, he commanded that it should be covered with a net-work of gold, ornamented on all sides with flowers and studded with gems, among which that valuable diamond[4] should be included. In short, that incomparable candle-stick cost two *lacs* and 50,000 *rupees*, of which one *lac* and 50,000 was the price of the diamond, and the remaining *lac* the worth of all the gems and gold, together with the original candle-stick. Mir Saiyid Ahmad Said Bahari, who had once before conveyed charitable presents to the two sacred cities, was then deputed to take charge of this precious offering; and an edict was promulgated to the effect, that the revenue collectors of the province of Gujarat should purchase a *lac* and 60,000 *rupees*' worth of goods for the sacred fane, and deliver it over to him, so that he might take it along with him from thence. Out of this, he was directed to present 50,000 *rupees*' worth to the Sheriff of Mecca; to sell 60,000 *rupees*' worth, and distribute the proceeds, together with any profits that might accrue, amongst the indigent of that sacred city; and the remaining 50,000, in like manner, amongst those of the glorious Medina. The above named Saiyid, who

1. Ibid., p. 126.
2. Ibid., p. 130; E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 171-172.
3. Cf. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 16-20.
4. The diamond in question was got from Golkonda as part of its tribute, and weighed in its rough state 180 *ratis*: 'after His Majesty's own lapidaries had cut away as much of the outer surface as was requisite to disclose all its beauties there remained a rare gem of 100 *ratis* weight, valued by the jewellers at one *lac* and 50,000 *rupees*' (*Shāh Jahān-nāma of Inayat Khān*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 84).

was in receipt of only a daily stipend, was promoted to a suitable *mansab*, and having been munificently presented with a dress of honour and a donation of 12,000 *rupees*, received his dismissal.[1]

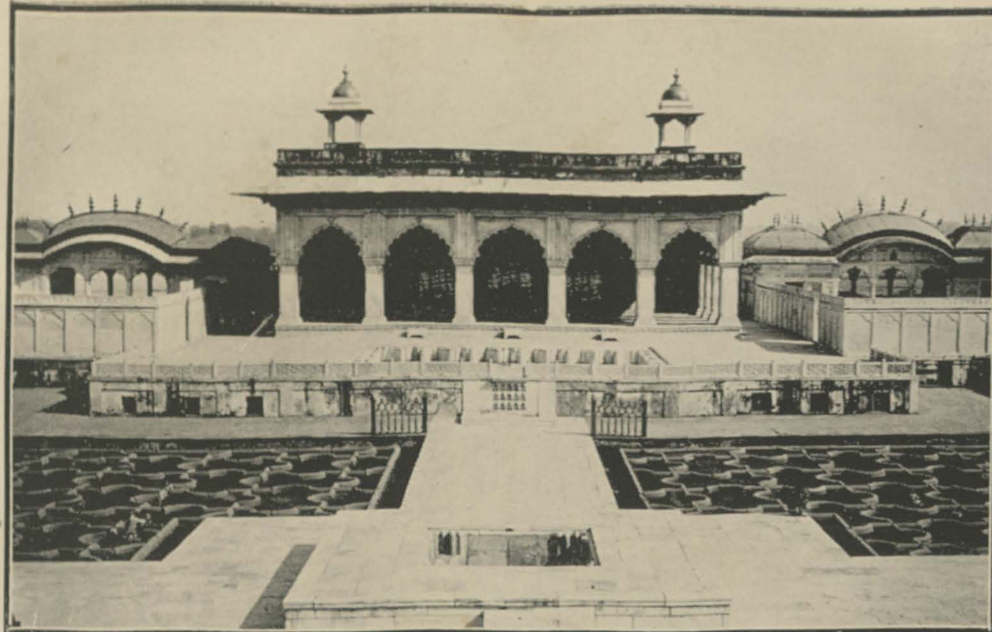
2. 'Notwithstanding the comparative increase in the expenses of the State during this reign, grants for the erection of public edifices and other works in progress, and for the paid military service and establishments, such as those maintained in Balkh, Badakhshan, and Kandahar, amounted, at one disbursement only, to fourteen *krors* of *rupees*, and the advances made on account of edifices only were *two krors* and fifty *lacs* of *rupees*. From this single instance of expenditure, an idea may be formed as to what the charges must have been under others.[2]

3. 'In the course of years many valuable gems had come into the Imperial jewel-house, each one of which might serve as an ear-drop for Venus, or would adorn the girdle of the Sun. Upon the accession of the Emperor, it occurred to his mind that, in the opinion of far-seeing men, the acquisition of such rare jewels and the keeping of such wonderful brilliants can only render one service, that of adorning the throne of empire. They ought, therefore, to be put to such a use, that beholders might share in and benefit by their splendour, and that Majesty might shine with increased brilliancy. It was accordingly ordered that, in addition to the jewels in the Imperial jewel-house, rubies, garnets, diamonds, rich pearls and emeralds, to the value of 200 *lacs* of *rupees*, should be brought for the inspection of the Emperor, and that they, with some exquisite jewels of great weight, exceeding 50,000 *miskals* in weight and fourteen *lacs* of *rupees*, having been carefully selected, should be handed over to Be-badal Khān, the superintendent of the goldsmith's department. There was also to be given to him one *lac* of *tolas* of pure gold, equal to 250,000 *miskals* in weight and fourteen *lacs* of *rupees* in value. The throne (which was ordered to be constructed) was to be three *gaz* in length, two and a half in breadth, and five in height, and was to be set with the above-mentioned jewels. The outside of the canopy was to be of enamel work with occasional gems, the inside was to be thickly set with rubies, garnets and other jewels, and it was to be supported by twelve emerald columns. On the top of each pillar there were to be two peacocks thickset with gems and between each two peacocks a tree set with rubies and diamonds, emeralds and pearls. The ascent was to consist of three steps set with jewels of fine water. This throne was completed in the course of seven years at a cost of 100 *lacs* of *rupees*.'[3]

4. 'The following is an exact account of the founding of the splendid fort in the above-named metropolis (Shāhjahānābād), with its edifices resembling Paradise, which was constructed in the environs of the city of Delhi, on the banks of the river Jumna. It first occurred to the omniscient mind that he should select on the banks of the aforesaid river some

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1. Ibid., pp. 84-5.
2. *Lubbu-t Tawārikh*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 171.
3. *Bādshāh-nāma*, op. cit., pp. 45-6.



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pleasant site, distinguished by its genial climate, where he might found a splendid fort and delightful edifices, agreeably to the promptings of his generous heart, through which streams of water should be made to flow, and the terraces of which should overlook the river. When, after a long search, a piece of ground outside the city of Delhi, lying between the most distant suburbs and Nūrgarh, commonly called Salīmgarh, was fixed upon for this purpose, by the royal command, on the night of Friday, the 25th *Zi-l hijja*, in the twelfth year of his auspicious reign, corresponding to 1048 A.H., being the time appointed by the astrologers, the foundations were marked out with the usual ceremonies, according to the plan devised, in the august presence. Active labourers were then employed in digging the foundations, and on the night of Friday, the 9th of *Muharram*, of the year coinciding with 1049 A.K. (1639 A.D.), the foundation stone of that noble structure was laid. Throughout the Imperial dominions, wherever artificers could be found, whether plain stone-cutters, ornamental sculptors, masons, or carpenters, by the mandate worthy of implicit obedience, they were all collected together, and multitudes of common labourers were employed in the work. It was ultimately completed on the 24th of *Rabiu-l awwal*, in the twenty-first year of his reign, corresponding to 1058 A.H., at an outlay of 60 *lacs* of *rupees*, after taking nine years, three months, and some days in building.'[1]

5. The Tāj Mahal, by common consent the most admired mausoleum in the world, enshrining the remains of Mumtāz-i Mahal, Shāh Jahān's beloved queen who died on Tuesday, 7th June, 1631 (17 *Zilkada*, 1040 A.H.) at Burhānpur, was built on a plot purchased from Rāja Jai Singh (grandson of Rāja Mān Singh) south of Agra city, at a cost of 9 *krors* and 17 *lacs* of *rupees*,[2] according to the *Dīwāni-Afridi*. It was begun early in 1632 and completed in January 1643, under the supervision of Mukarramat Khān and Mīr Abdul Karīm. The *Dīwāni-i-Afridi* also names the following artisans employed in its construction :—"Amanat Khān Shirāzi, writer of Tughra inscriptions, from Qandahar ; Master Isa Khān, mason, a citizen of Agra ; Master Pira, carpenter, a resident of Delhi ; Banuhar, Jhat Mal, and Zorawar, sculptors, from Delhi ; Ismail Khān Rumi, maker of the dome and the scaffolding supporting it ; and Rām Mal Kashmiri, gardener." It also gives a list of twenty varieties of precious stones set in the Tāj, got from 'Qandahar', Ceylon, "the upper world", Nile, Basrah and Ormaz, Jodhpur, Kumaon, Makrans, Bamas, Yemen, Atlantic Ocean, Ghorband, Gandak, Baba Budhan, Mount Sinai, Gwalior, Persia, and Assam.[3]

Rev. H. Heras following the wake of V. A. Smith tried to make out a case for the Italian Geronimo Veroneo, as the architect of the Tāj, on the testimony of two contemporary Jesuit Fathers, Manri-

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1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, op. cit., pp. 85-6.
2. Only 50 *lacs* according to other estimates, see Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 30.
3. Ibid., pp. 31-33.

que and De Castro. Veroneo was a Venetian jeweller who died at Lahore on 2nd August, 1640. Father Manrique appears to have got the information from De Castro (then Rector of the Jesuit College, Agra) who administered the last unction to Veroneo at the time of his death. His statement is as follows :—

'The architect of these works was a Venetian, by name Geronimo Veroneo, who had come to this part in a Portuguese ship and died in the city of Laor (Lahore) just before I reached it.

'The Emperor Corrombo (Khurram) paid him a very high salary. .....Fame, the swift conveyor of good and evil news, had spread the story that the Emperor summoned him and informed him that he desired to erect a great sumptuous tomb to his dead wife, and he was required to draw up some designs for this, for the Emperor's inspection.

"The architect Veroneo carried out this order, and within a few days proved the great skill he had in this art by producing several models of the most beautiful architecture. He pleased this ruler in respect of the designs, but, in his barbaric pride and arrogance, His Majesty was displeased with him owing to his low estimates, and it is said that, becoming angry, he told Veroneo to spend 3 *crores* of *rupees*, that is Rs. 300 *lakhs*, and to inform him when it was expended. This is so large a sum as to overawe one If, however, as they used to say, the tomb had to be covered with gold plates, as had been done with the funeral urn which already held the remains of the Agarene Empress, such heavy expenditure was not surprising.'[1]

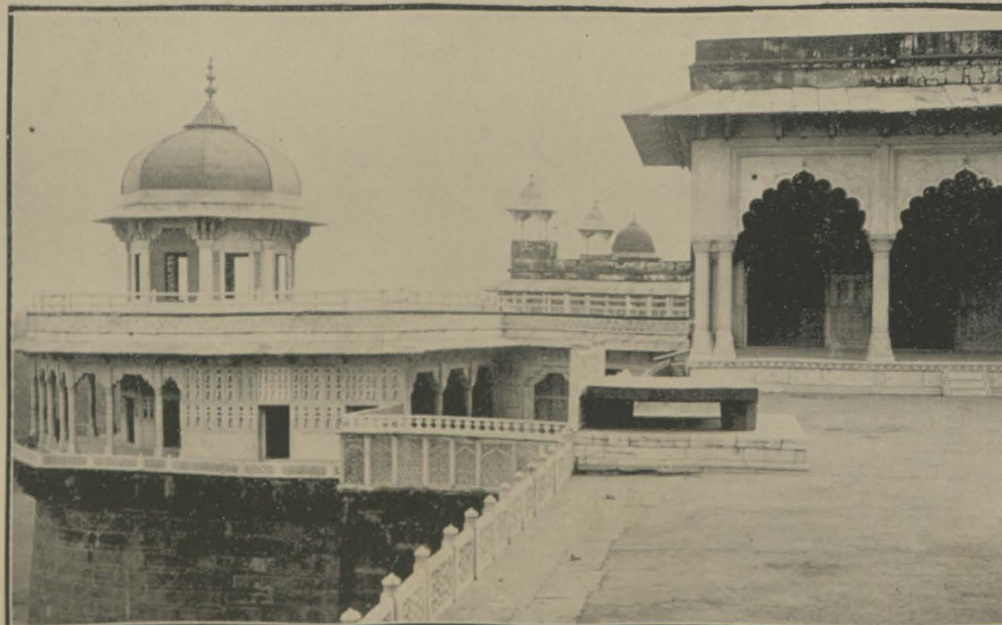
Sleeman, in his *Rambles and Recollections*,[2] suggests the name of another European architect, viz., the French engineer, Austin de Bourdeaux, whom he tries to identify with Ustād Isa Khān !

These views are contradicted by Sir John Marshall[3] and E. B. Havell[4] on grounds of faulty historical evidence and internal proofs of style.

Mr. Arthur U. Pope, more trenchantly declares : "The myth that the Tāj Mahal was built by an Italian now belongs to the realm of bed-time stories."[5]

6. An idea of the wealth accumulated by the nobility may be had from the following account of Asaf Khān's property at the time of his death in 1641 A. D. It is, of course, not to be forgotten

1. Cf. Smith, *History of Fine Arts*, etc., pp. 183-85 ; 416-18.
2. *Rambles and Recollections*, I, p. 385.
3. *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1904-05), pp. 1-3.
4. *Indian Architecture*, pp. 33-9.
5. For a report of the controversy see *The Examiner*, No. 11 pp. 123-25 (Bombay, 18th March, 1933) ; also Moinu-d-din Ahmad, *The Tāj and its Environments*, pp. 16-30 (2nd ed., Agra, 1924).



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that Asaf Khān held a unique position in the Empire, by the virtue of his relationship with the Emperor. The *Bādshāh-nāma* states :

'He had risen to a rank and dignity which no servant of the state had ever before attained. By the munificent favour of the Emperor, his *mansab* was nine thousand personal and nine thousand horse, *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah*, the pay of which amounted to sixteen *krors* and twenty *lacs* of dāms. When these had all received their pay, a sum of fifty *lacs* of *rupees* was left for himself......Besides the mansion which he had built in Lahore, and on which he expended twenty *lacs* of *rupees*, he left money and valuables to the amount of two *krors* and fifty *lacs* of *rupees*. There were 30 *lacs* of *rupees* in jewels, three *lacs* of *ashrafis* equal to 42 *lacs* of *rupees*, one *kror* and 25 *lacs* in *rupees*, 30 *lacs* in gold and silver utensils, and 23 *lacs* in miscellaneous articles.'[1]

Comments.

This vast wealth, though to all appearances concentrated in the hands of the Emperor and the nobility, and spent in war and luxury, could not have been extorted from an indigent peasantry. The only revolts under Shāh Jahān were not reactions to the alleged oppression of the rulers, whether central or local, but the expression of the normal ambitions of medieval nobility. The only exception to this was the intransigent conduct of the Portuguese at Hugli, whose oppressions and exactions drew upon themselves the might of Imperial arms. Manucci has more than once observed how he sought fortune and security within the Empire, while he met with chicanery and risk to life in the European settlements. In one place he remarks, 'Joas Antunes Portugal was incensed at this affair (a just award, of money due to Manucci, by an impartial tribunal), and, in place of being sorry, sought means to take my life. If he did not succeed, it was because I did not remain in Goa, but returned to the Mogul Prince's service.'[2] 'The fellows,' he writes about the Portuguese, 'glory in cheating foreigners without scruple.'[3] He found less personal liberty, to do even humanitarian work for the poor and indigent, in Portuguese than in Mughal India.[4]

Conditions, no doubt, were more unsettled in medieval times than now all the world over, and robberies on roads were not infrequent. But Shāh Jahān did all in his power to render travelling within the Empire as safe as could be. One of the means he adopted

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 68-9.
2. *A Pepys of Moghul India*, pp. 223-24.
3. Ibid., pp. 224-25.
4. Ibid., p. 221 ; see also pp. 134-36 and 220-31 for various other instances of oppression suffered by Manucci.

was to provide caravansarais with proper equipments. 'For the use of wayfarers,' writes Manucci, 'there are throughout the realms of the Mogul on every route many *sarais*. They are like fortified places with their bastions and strong gates ; most of them are built of stone or of brick. In every one is an official whose duty it is to close the gates at the going down of the sun. After he has shut the gates he calls out that everyone must look after his belongings, picket his horses by their fore and hind legs, above all that he must look out for dogs, for the dogs of Hindustan are very cunning and great thieves !

'At 6 o'clock in the morning, before opening the gates, the watchman gives three warnings to the travellers, crying in a loud voice that everyone must look after his own things. After these warnings, if any one suspects that any of his property is missing, the doors are not opened until the lost thing is found. By this means they make sure of having the thief, and he is strung up opposite the *sarai*. Thus the thieves when they hear a complaint is made drop the goods somewhere, so as not to be discovered.

'These *sarais* are only intended for travellers (*soldiers do not go into them*). Each one of them might hold, more or less, from 800 to 1,000 persons with their horses, camels, carriages, and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls, verandahs, with trees inside the courtyard, and many provision shops, also separate abode for the women and men who arrange the rooms and the beds for the travellers.'[1]

Famine Relief.

The measures taken by Shāh Jahān for the relief of the famine-stricken in the earlier part of his reign, when his treasury was not so full as later, are worthy of note. Writes Lahorī : 'The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials to Burhānpur, Ahmadabad, and the country of Surat, to establish soup kitchens, or alms-houses, such as are called *laṅgar* in the language of Hindustan, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhānpur 5,000 *rupees* should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne. Thus, on twenty Mondays one *lac* of *rupees*

1. *A Pepys of Moghul India*, p. 34.

was given away in charity. Ahmadabad had suffered more than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 *rupees* among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and dearness of grain had caused distress in many other countries (districts). So under the directions of the wise and generous Emperor *taxes amounting to nearly* 70 *lacs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eight krors of dams, amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue.* When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held *jāgīrs* and *mansabs.*'[1]

Similar measures were adopted for relief of distressed peasantry in Kashmir (1641) and the Punjab (1646) when there was famine on account of heavy rainfall. On the former occasion 50,000 people appealed to Shāh Jahān for relief and he distributed among them Rs. 100,000, besides the provision of Rs. 200 worth of cooked food daily; and at the same time sent Rs. 30,000 to Tarbiyat Khān for further relief measures, and ordered the opening of five kitchens for the distribution of soup and bread in Kashmir. This officer having failed to manage the situation well, he was replaced by Zafar Khān, who was given a further grant of Rs. 20,000. In the Punjab, likewise, ten kitchens were opened and Saiyid Jalal was commissioned to distribute Rs. 10,000 among the poor and destitute. "Sold children were ransomed by the Government, and restored to their parents. In February 1647 Shāh Jahān sanctioned another thirty thousand rupees for relief measures in the Punjab."[2]

In the face of this, Vincent Smith declares, while the people were dying of starvation "the camp of Shāh Jahān at Burhānpur was filled with provisions of all kinds," and "so far as Mundy saw, *nothing* to help the suffering people was done by the Government." With regard to the remission of taxes, above referred to, Smith dismisses them with the frivolous observation that "*The facts do not justify the historians' praise of the 'gracious kindness and bounty' of Shāh Jahān. The remission of one-eleventh of the land revenue implies that attempts were made to collect ten-elevenths, a burden which could not be borne by a country reduced to 'the dire extremity,' and retaining no trace of productiveness.*"[3]

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 24-5.
2. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 292-93.
3. *O. H.*, p. 394.

At least two instances of the construction of canals to improve agricultural prosperity are on record. The *Bādshāh-nāma* states :

(1) 'Ali Mardān Khān represented to His Majesty that one of his followers was an adept in the forming of canals, and would undertake to construct a canal from the palace where the river Rāvi descends from the hills into the plains, and to conduct the waters to Lahore, benefiting the cultivation of the country through which it should pass. The Emperor......gave to the Khān one *lac* of *rupees*, a sum of which experts estimated the expense, and the Khān then entrusted its formation to one of his trusted servants.' The canal even to this day bears witness. (2) 'The canal that Sultān Fīroz Shāh Khiljī, during the time he reigned at Delhi, had made to branch off from the river Jumna, in the vicinity of *pargana* Khizrābād, whence he brought it in a channel 30 Imperial *kos* long to the confines of *pargana* Safidun, which was his hunting-seat, and had only a scanty supply of water, had after the Sultān's death, become in the course of time ruinous. While Sahābu-d dīn Ahmad Khān held the Government of Delhi, during the reign of Emperor Akbar, he put it in repair and set it flowing again, with a view to fertilize the places in his *jāgīr*, and hence it was called Nahr-i-Shāh ; but for want of repairs, however, it again stopped flowing. At the time when the sublime attention was turned to the building of this fort and palace (of Shāhjahānābād), it was commanded that the aforesaid canal from Khizrābād to Safidun should be repaired, and a new channel excavated from the latter spot to the regal residence, which also is a distance of 30 Imperial *kos*. After it was thus prolonged, it was designated the Nahr-Bihist.'[1]

A further illustration of Shāh Jahān's benevolent intentions towards the peasantry is afforded by the same writer in the following statement :

'As it was represented that during the progress of the victorious forces towards Kandahar (in 1649 A.D.) a great deal of the cultivation of Ghazni and its dependencies had been trodden under foot by the army, the merciful monarch, the *cherisher of his people*, despatched the sum of 2,000 gold *ashrafis*, in charge of a trusty individual, with directions *to inquire into the loss sustained by the agriculturists, and to distribute it among them accordingly*.'[2]

Art under Shāh Jahān.*

This account of the Golden Age of the Mughal Empire cannot be closed without at least a brief reference to the cultivation of fine arts. The construction of the Peacock throne and the building of the Tāj Mahal, both of which took years to execute and gave employ-

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 67-8 and 86.
2. Ibid., p. 96.
* "The Architecture of Akbar and Shāh Jahān—a comparative study," Nandalal Chatterji, I. C., IV, 1, July 1937, pp. 123-126.

ment to the finest workmen from all parts of the country, are but the best known of numerous works of art produced in this epoch. We have not the space to dwell at length on all phases of the cultural life under Shāh Jahān; but as Dr. Saksena, in his excellent study of the subject, has truly observed, "The prevailing peace in the country together with the personal interest of the sovereign gave a powerful impetus to the growth of art and literature. Poets, philosophers, scholars, artisans, all flocked to Court in search of patronage, and talent was but rarely disappointed. The King was never slow to recognise merit and rewarded it generously. His example was followed by his courtiers, who vied with one another in extending their patronage to really capable men."[1]

The *Moti Masjid* or Pearl Mosque was built at Agra in seven years (1645-53) at a cost of Rs. 300,000. In the words of St. Nihal Singh it was "designed by a craftsman who possessed the skill to make stone suggest the struggle of the soul to soar above mundane entanglements. Built on a high plateau, with a spacious court of white marble, surrounded by a gallery and column made of the same stone, its white, delicately shaped domes rise above the red, solid-looking ramparts, powerfully conveying that idea."[2]

The *Tāj Mahal*, details of the construction of which have already been given, seen from the *Samam Burj* or Jasmine Tower in Agra Fort (whence Shāh Jahān gazed at it for the last time from his prison window), reveals 'the pearly marble set off against the green foliage of the garden and the deep blue of the Indian sky, a sight the charm of which is never forgotten by any one who has had the good fortune to behold it."

"Perhaps the most entrancing view is to be had on a tranquil night, when the full moon floats overhead lighting up the tomb with an ethereal glow, and the mausoleum is mirrored in the calm surface of the Jumna. The closer one examines the Tāj Mahal the more one admires it. The minutest detail has been carefully thought out and executed with tireless patience. In inscribing texts

1. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 246-47.

2. *India Old and New*, p. 72. Another writer has described it as 'a poem of fervent stone,' and observes: 'There is something more intense in the mystic impression of those denticulated arches, those white and blue perspectives, than in the flight of the Gothic perpendiculars.... The serenity of the Greek temple has not that passion petrified in beauty ....The sanctuary is alive, a mysterious soul throbs there between bliss and ecstasy.' (D'Humieres, *Through Isle and Empire*, pp. 225-6, cited by Edwardes and Garrett, op. cit., pp. 311-12.)

from the *Qurān* round the tall doorways the artists have shown themselves such masters of perspective that the letters thirty feet or more above the line of the eye appear to be exactly the same size as those a foot from the ground. The mosaic work is done with onyx, jasper, cornelian, carbuncle, malachite, lapis lazuli, and other precious stones."[1]

The Tāj still attracts tourists from all over the world and is perhaps the most admired mausoleum ever built by man. Human expression fails to convey in words the delicate message of its exquisite beauty : It has nevertheless been described as 'A Dream in Marble,' as 'a summing up of many forms of beauty.' "It matters not," writes Mr. Gladstone Solomon, "that it was the autocrat Shāh Jahān who made the Tāj. From the moment of the first inception of its idea in the beauty-haunted mind of the Grand Mogul, the Tāj became the property of the world......Shāh Jahān, the Oriental despot, was in this a greater Socialist than the most radical of our reformers. He believed in the community of Art......so that the unending message of the Tāj is still being unfolded."[2]

Shāh Jahān's patronage was not confined to architecture alone, though one writer has observed : "Even if the entire mass of historical literature had perished, and only these buildings had remained to tell the story of Shāh Jahān's reign, there is little doubt that it would have still been pronounced as the most magnificent in history."[3] Both Persian and Hindi, prose and poetry, music, paintings[4] and dance, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine, all flourished equally. There were both Hindu and Muslim writers, scholars, and artists. Translations of great Sanskrit works were also made. Besides those attributed to Dārā Shikuh may be mentioned the rendering into Persian of the *Prabodh Candrodaya* by

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1. Ibid., p. 73. See "Italians and Mughal Pietra dura," N. L. Chatterji, J. U. P. H. S., Dec. 1937 ; and "The Development of Tomb Architecture under the Mughals," I. 4. Qureshi, J. A. H. R. I. L, 2-3, July-Oct. 1941, pp. 167-77.
2. *Essays on Moghul Art*, pp. 56-8.
3. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 261-62.
4. "The artists of Shāh Jahān allowed themselves to be largely influenced both by the old Hindu tradition and by study of European pictures....Many of the arts were endowed with unsurpassed keenness of vision and steadiness of hand. Some were able to use with success a brush consisting of a single squirrel's hair. The portraits of Shāh Jahān's time, which are free from the stiffness common in the preceding and succeeding ages, are wonderfully life-like and often perfectly charming." (Smith, *O. H.*, p. 421.)

Munshi Banvali Dās and the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Ibn Har Karan, Mulla Furīd Munajjim, the greatest astronomer of the period, prepared the astral chart entitled *Zich-i-Shāhjahāni,* Ataullah wrote a treatise on Algebra, Mensuration and Arithmetic, and dedicated it to the Emperor and Dārā, while Abdur Rashīd translated *Bīj Gaṇit* from Sanskrit.

"The period of Shāh Jahān's reign," according to Dr. Saksena, "partially coincided with what is described as the most brilliant epoch in the development of Hindi literature and language. The Emperor could hardly remain aloof from its influence. He spoke Hindi, was fond of Hindi music, and patronised Hindi poets. The Hindi poets who were then connected with the court were Sundar Dās, Chintāmani, and Kavindra Āchārya.[1] Shāh Jahān delighted in Tān Sen's son-in-law, Lāl Khān *Guṇa Samudra,* singing the *dru-pad* tune, which was the Emperor's favourite. Jagannāth, the best Hindu musician of the age, "was exceedingly favoured by Shāh Jahān," and received from him the title *Mahā Kavi Rāi.* Sukh Sen was a master-player on the *rubab* or guitar, and Sūr Sen on the *bīn* or zither.[2]

Shāh Jahān a paradox.

In spite of all that has been said above, however, Shāh Jahān still remains a paradox in some respects. The minute details of his daily routine, of which we have contemporary evidence, show him to have been a man of strenuous activity and great self-command; but legend whispers many a tale of extreme self-indulgence verging on scandalous depravity for which, however, there seems to be little foundation.[3] His sense of fairness and justice was great; yet, at times he was guilty of excessive cruelty; though this was a common frailty of the age. He entertained many Hindus in his Court and service, and was ordinarily tolerant towards Christians, as mentioned by Bernier; nevertheless, at times, he gave way to acts of intolerance, though sometimes not without provocation, as in the case of the Portuguese. But his destruction of Hindu temples is less intelligible. Says the author of the *Bādshāh-nāma* :

1. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 259.
2. Ibid., p. 268. Read "Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Saraswatī at the Mughal Court" by P. K. Gode in Annals of the Sri Venkateśvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, Vol. I, pt. iv—based on the contemporary *Kavīndracandrodaya* and Bernier's letter.
3. Ibid., pp. 238, 336-42.

It had been brought to the notice of His Majesty that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His Majesty, the defender of the faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.'[1]

This was in 1633, now over three hundred years ago. It is further related that "Hindus were forbidden to dress in the Muslim style, to sell or drink wine openly or privately, to cremate their dead or burn the *satis* near Muslim graveyards; and to purchase Muslim slaves of war."[2] These and other acts of petty persecution indicated that there was already a set-back in the tide of liberalism so well begun by Akbar. Yet, Della Valle refers to the prohibition of cow-slaughter in Cambay, and Manrique to strict injunctions against slaying of animals in Hindu districts.[3]

Dryden's lines best sum the sunset of this glorious career;

'Oh! had he still that character maintained,
Of valour, which in blooming Youth he gain'd,
He promised in his East a glorious Race
Now sunk from his Meridian, sets a pace.
But in the Sun, whom he from Noon declines,
And with abated heat less fiercely shines,
Seems to grow milder as he goes away.
Pleasing himself with the remains of Day:
So he who, in his Youth, for Glory strove,
Would recompense his age with Ease and Love.'

Aurang-Zebe

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 36.
2. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 294-95.
3. Ibid., p. 295. Lane-Poole observes: "But Shāh-Jahān was too prudent a king to let religion over-ride statesmanship. (op. cit., p. 14.)

GENEALOGY

AURANGZEB

(1658-1707)

Muhammad Sultān (executed, 1676)	Muazzam (Bahādur Shāh or Shāh Alam I, 1707-12)	M. Azam (killed at Jajau, 1707)	Kāmbaksh (killed at Hyderābād, 1709)	Akbar (d. in Persia, 1704)

AUTHORITIES*

A. PRIMARY : 1. COURT ANNALS. (i) *Aml-i-Sālih* of Muhammad Sālih Kambu contains the history of the War of Succession. It continues the story of the death of Shāh Jahān but is considered more reliable in its earlier than in its later part. It is also interesting for its biographical notices of eminent men of the period. (Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 123-32.)

(ii) *Alamgīr-Nāma* of Mīrza Muhammad Kāzim was written (1688) by order of Aurangzeb, and is a courtly account of the first ten years of his reign. It is strange, however, that on its being shown to the Emperor, he forbade its continuation. "The Mughal Emperor professed as the cause of the prohibition that the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements. . . . It is strained, verbose, and tedious; fulsome in its flattery, abusive in its censure." (Ibid., pp. 174-80.)

(iii) *Ma'asir-i Alamgīrī* of Muhammad Saki Mustaid Khān, written after Aurangzeb's death, but based on State papers. It is comparatively very brief as it deals with the history of 51 years in only 541 pages. The *Alamgīr-Nāma* covering only 10 years contains 1107 pages. (Both, *Bibliotheca Indica* Series). The author undertook the work by desire of his patron, and finished it in 1710 A.D., only three years after the death of Aurangzeb. 'He had been a constant follower of the Court for forty years, and an eye-witness of many of the transactions he records.' (Ibid., pp. 181-91)

2. PRIVATE HISTORIES. (i) *Zafar Nāma* (also called *Aurang-Nāma, Hālat-i-Alamgīrī*, etc.) of Akil Khān Razi is a short history, beginning with the invasion of Bijapur (1650) and ending with the death of Mīr Jumla (1663). Prof. Sarkar observes, "The author

* On account of its complexity and vastness, as also from the wealth of material that is available for the reign of Aurangzeb, the compilation of a Bibliography becomes peculiarly difficult. Hence only the most important and indispensable sources have been indicated here. 'The attempt to write an epitome of the fifty years' reign of this illustrious monarch,' observes Khāfī Khān, 'is like trying to measure the waters of the sea in a pitcher; the affairs of the last forty years in particular are a boundless ocean, which authors have shrunk from committing to the thread of narrative.'

writes with independence and in some cases reveals facts which could not have been pleasing to his master." (Copies at Rāmpur.)

(ii) *Tārīkh-i-Shāh-Shujā* of Mir Muhammad Masum (1660) ends abruptly on the eve of Shuja's flight, but "mentions many facts not to be found elsewhere and seemingly true. For Shuja's doings he is our only authority and a very important one too. There is a striking agreement between him and Manucci in many particulars; evidently the two used the same source of information." (Sarkar.)

(iii) *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb Muhammad Shāhi* of Muhammad Hashim Khāfī Khān is by far the most important. It is a complete history of the Mughal Emperors from Bābur down to Muhammad Shāh (1733). The author's father was an officer under Murād Baksh. Khāfī Khān himself conducted an embassy to Bombay in 1694. "His reflective style, description of the condition of society, and characteristic anecdotes," writes Prof. Sarkar, "save his work from the dry formality of the Court annals, and he is specially informing with regard to Deccan affairs."

This work is also frequently referred to as *Tārīkh-i-Khāfī Khān* ....*Khāfī* (concealed) is supposed by some to have been the title wittily conferred by Muhammad Shāh upon the writer, Muhammad Hashim *Khwafi*, for his having concealed his valuable work for a long time (owing to Aurangzeb's ban on histories.) Others derive the word from *Khwaf*, a district of Khurasan near Naishapur. The historian was made *Diwan* by Nizāmu-l Mulk in the reign of Farrukh Siyar (Extracts in E. &. D., op. cit., VII, pp. 207-533.)

There are also two valuable Persian histories written by contemporary Hindus: (1) *Nurkha-i-Dilkasha* by Bhimsen Burhānpuri; (2) *Fatuhāt-i-Alamgīri* by Īshwardās Nagar of Pātan (Gujarat). Both were in Imperial service. The former is important for affairs in the Deccan; the latter for Rajputana.

3. Monographs, State Papers, etc. (i) *Ahkam-i-Alamgīri* or *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*—tr. by J. N. Sarkar.

(ii) *Ma'asirul-umara* or the biographical dictionary of the Mughal peerage is also a work of peculiar interest and value. It was begun about 1742 and completed in 1779. It was compiled by several writers from various authoritative histories, official accounts, letters, etc. "Its chief value lies in the many characteristic anecdotes it mentions and the light it throws on the manners of the age." (Sarkar; E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 187-91)

(iii) For other authorities, particularly Aurangzeb's letters (more than a thousand in Sir J. N. Sarkar's possession alone) farmāns, Court bulletins, etc., see Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. I, pp. xv-xxi ; vol. II, pp. 304-17 ; vol. III, pp. 444-46. Also see E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 198-206 ; V. A. Smith, *O. H.* pp. 451-52.

(iv) "Imperial Mughal Farmāns in Gujarat," M. S. Commissariat (*Journal of the University of Bombay*, July 1940)

(v) "MS copy of the Dīwān of Dārā Shikoh," Zafar Khān, J. R. A. S. Bengal, V, 1, 1939.

4. EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS. Of the European travellers, Bernier, Tavernier, and Manucci have already been noticed in the previous chapter. The following critical observations of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar on the extent of their reliability, however, are worthy of attention :—

"Their works are of undoubted value as throwing light on the condition of the people, the state of trade and industry, and the history of the Christian churches in India. Moreover, the criticism of Indian institutions by foreign observers has a freshness and weight all its own. But of the political history of India, apart from the few events in which they took part or which they personally witnessed, their report merely reproduced the bazār rumours and the stories current among the populace, and cannot be set against the evidence of contemporary histories and letters in Persian.....From their position these foreign travellers had no access to the best sources of information ; the State archives were closed to them. They visited the makers of Indian history only occasionally and as suppliants for favours ; hence they could not derive the oral information which only familiar intercourse with the highest personages in camp and Court could have given them. Finally, their imperfect knowledge of literary Persian prevented them from using the written annals of the time and checking the reports they had received orally." (*History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. xxi-ii.) For the principal European authorities see Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*. In addition to Bernier, Tavernier, and Manucci, he mentions the following :—

(a) Dr. Fryer's *New Account of India* chiefly useful for the Maratha power under Shivāji. The author was in S. India 1672-81.

(b) Ovington's '*Voyage to Surat*'—visited only Bombay and Surat (1689-92).

(c) Hedges' *Diary* (Yule's ed.)—for Mughal provincial administration in 1682-4.

(d) Dr. Gemilli Careri's account of Aurangzeb's camp in the Deccan in 1695.—'throws light on an obscure portion of the reign.'

B. SECONDARY : (i) Orme, *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire* (London, 1782).

(ii) N. Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 603-75. Smith writes : "Elphinstone knew the Maratha country and people so intimately that his narrative counts as a primary authority for some purposes."

(iii) S. Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, (Rulers of India, O. U. P., 1930). On the whole this is the most readable short account of the reign of Aurangzeb.

(iv) J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, 5 vols. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1912-24) is a monumental work based on various original sources, not to be easily surpassed. An abridged ed. of this, entitled *A Short History of Aurangzīb*, is also available (1930).

(v) Zahiruddin Faruki, *Aurangzeb and his Times* (Taraporewala, Bombay 1935).

(vi) J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 33-249.

(vii) „ *Mughal Administration*.

(viii) W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (Macmillan, London, 1923).

(ix) A. Butenschön, *The Life of a Mogul Princess* (Routledge, London, 1931).

C. SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES : I. *Sikh History*—(i) *History of the Sikhs, Hari Ram Gupta*, 3 vols., also *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab* : 1707-93 by the same author. (Lahore 1944) (ii) Cunningham, J. D., *A History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. Calcutta. (1911)

(iii) M'Gregor, W. L., *The History of the Sikhs* (London, 1846.)

(iv) Payne, C. H., *A Short History of the Sikhs*. (Nelson)

II. *Rajput History*—Tod, J., *The Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*. (2 vols, Calcutta, 1898-9)

III. *Maratha History*—(i) Sarkar, J. N., *Shivāji and His Times*.

(ii) Sen, S. N., *Military System of the Marathas* (Calcutta) ; *Foreign Biographies of Shivāji* (Calcutta, 1927) :

Administrative system of the Marāthas (Calcutta, 1925).

(iii) Rawlinson, H. G., *Shivāji the Marātha* (Oxford, 1915).

(iv) Vaidya, C. V., *Shivāji the Founder of Marātha Swarāj* (Poona, 1931.)

(v) Kincaid and Pārasnis, *History of the Marātha People.* (2 vols. Oxford, 1918-22.)

(vi) Rānadé, M. G., *Rise of the Marātha Power* (Bombay, 1900).

(vii) Deshpande, G. K., *The Deliverance or the Escape of Ṣhivāji the Great from Agra.* (B. I. S. M., Poona 1929)

(viii) Bendrey, V. S., *Govalkondyāchi Kutbaśāhi* in Marāthi with valuable appendices in English (Bhārat Itihāsa Samśodhak Mandal, Poona 1934).

(ix) Sharma, S. R., *Maratha History Re-examined* (1295-1707) throws fresh light on many important points (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944).

IV. *Articles*—(i) "Prince Akbar and the Portuguese", P. Pissurlencar (Bengal, Past and Present, April-June 1928).

(ii) "The Mission of G. Weldon and Abraham Navarro to the Court of Aurangzeb," H. Das (I. A., April and May 1929).

(iii) "Rustamji Manak", H. Das (I. A., June & July 1930).

(iv) "Malik Ambar—a new life," J. N. Sarkar (I. H. Q. IX, 2 & 3).

(v) "F. Palsaert in India," Moreland (I. A. LXII, Aug.-Oct. 1933).

(vi) "Religious Policy of Aurangzeb," Sri R. Sharma, (I. H. Q. XII, 2 & 3, 1936).

(vii) "An Assamese Source of Mughal History"—(*The Padshah Buranji*) (J. Assam R. Soy. IV, April 1936).

(viii) "The Monuments of Aurangzib's Reign," S. K. Banerji (J. U. P. H. S., XVI, I., July 1943).

(ix) "A Chapter in the History of Sikh Militarism," C. A Banerjee, J. I. H., XXIII, 3, (Dec. 1944) pp. 181-88.

(x) A short History of the Origin and Rise of the Sikhs (*Hakikat-i Binā wa 'riruj-i Firkah-i Sikhān*) tr. with Introd. and Notes by Indubhushan Banerjee. Calcutta, 1942. (end of I. H. Q., XVIII,1, March 1942).

(xi) "Court Diaries during the Mughal Period"; "Aurangzeb and his Policy,"—J. A. H. R. I., vol. I, 1-2, pp. 32-43; pp. 102-120.

CHAPTER IX

POST MERIDIEM OF THE EMPIRE

'The history of Aurangzib is practically the history of India for sixty years....Under him the Mughal empire reached its greatest extent, and the largest single State ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power was formed.'

JADUNATH SARKAR

'Aurangzib's life had been a vast failure, indeed, but he had failed grandly.'

STANLEY LANE-POOLE

It is indeed difficult to say how long exactly the sun shines brightest after he has reached the zenith; but it is common experience that the mid-day glow continues for quite a length of time before one is aware that afternoon has come and sunset must follow soon. So it was with the Mughal Empire at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign: The Golden Age was not yet quite past, but the long rule of Aurangzeb (1657-1707) saw it tarnish; and the death of the last of the Great Mughals began to show the iron at its core. Indeed, to vary the metaphor, the gilded tomb did worms infold; and all that had glistered was not gold. The fifty years of Aurangzeb's Imperial sway saw what one recent writer has aptly described as "the turn of the tide."

Aurangzeb as Prince had shown great promise both as an administrator and as a general. On the throne he sat for quite as long a period as his great-grand-father Akbar. The half-century of rule in each case was full of incessant activity; and of the two, Aurangzeb had certainly the better start in life. Akbar was a mere child when he succeeded to his father's precarious legacy; his resources were scanty, his troubles great and many. Not so with Aurangzeb: his age was forty at the time of his accession. His dominion was sure, his wealth great, and his army better equipped and larger. Internally the Empire was at peace, and the machinery of Government at work for over three generations. Still did Aurangzeb fail. The key to this failure is his character. Once more we find the oft-repeated experience: the fortunes of the Empire turning on the pivot of the Emperor's personality. Aurangzeb was as fana-

tical as Akbar was liberal; but both were equally zealous in the pursuit of their respective ideals. Aurangzeb aimed at and fatally succeeded in undoing the great work of Akbar. In the present reign we but witness the untwisting of the chord of national life.

Aurangzeb has been described by some writers as a 'political paradox.' The unravelling of this enigma, however, requires a clear knowledge of the events of his reign. These, in our opinion, are better studied in a *logical* rather than a merely *chronological* order. The present chapter is arranged as follows :—

I. Early Career; II. Frontier Wars; III. North India; IV. South India; V. The Europeans; and VI. The Riddle of Aurangzeb.

I. EARLY CAREER (1618-58)

Birth and Accession.

According to Khāfī Khān, 'Aurangzeb was born in the year 1028 A.H. (1619, A.D.) at Dhúd, which is on the frontiers of the *Subā* of Ahmadabad and Mālwa, whilst his father was *Subādār* of the Dakhin.'[1] Sir J. N. Sarkar gives the date more precisely as "the night of 15th *Ziqada*, 1027 A. H. (24th October, 1618 A. D., Old Style)."[2] Muhiu-d din Muhammad Aurangzeb was the sixth among fourteen children of Shāh Jahān and Mumtāz Mahal. He first sat on his father's throne on 1st *Ziqada*, 1068 A. H. (21 July, 1658 A. D.); but his formal coronation took place on 24th *Ramzān*, 1069 (5 June, 1659), under the high-sounding title: Abdul Muzaffar Muhiu-d din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahādur 'Alamgīr Pādshāh-i Ghāzi.' *Alamgīr* or 'world compeller,' the title by which he was more familiarly known, appears to have been suggested by the Persian inscription on a sword presented to Aurangzeb by Shāh Jahān.[3] It sums up correctly the spirit of the Emperor and forms the key-note of his ambition and rule.

The period of forty years inclosed by these two events was one of seed-time for Aurangzeb; the fifty years that followed were to yield the expected harvest. The mile-stones in Aurangzeb's progress towards the throne may be briefly recounted.

Hostage to Jahāngīr.

In June 1626, at the age of eight, Aurangzeb was sent to Lahore, together with Dārā, as a hostage to Jahāngīr on account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion. He obtained his release only on the death of Jahāngīr and the accession of Shāh Jahān, on 26th February, 1628.

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1. *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb;* E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 213.
2. *Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 7. The birth-place was Dohad (22-50 N. 74-20 E.) a town South of Dohad Rly. Station (B. B. & C. I. Ry. Panch Mahal District, Bombay Presidency).
3. Lane-Poole, *Medieval India*, p. 359.

With this year began his regular education, chiefly, among others, under Mīr Muhammad Hashim of Gilam. He soon familiarised himself with the *Qurān* and the *Hadis*, and became an adept at the writing of the *naksha* hand. 'His *nastaliq* and *shikasta* styles of writing were also excellent.' Though he had a dislike for poetry, the didactic variety was not neglected by him. His aversion to music, painting, and the fine arts has been made memorable in the familiar anecdote of the funeral of music: the mourners in the cortége being asked by Aurangzeb to bury her (the Muse) deep, lest she should rise again! These puritanical traits of the later Emperor had their beginning in the early life and training of the young prince.

Another incident of Aurangzeb's boyhood also indicated the promise of the cool courage and philosophical bent which were so characteristic of his manhood. In May 1633 the Prince was watching an elephant fight when one of the infuriated animals rushed at him. But the dauntless stripling of less than fifteen summers never budged an inch. On the contrary he wounded the elephant with his spear and evoked the admiration of all present. When Shāh Jahān chid him over his rashness, he only remarked: "If the fight had ended fatally for me it would not have been a matter of shame. *Death drops the curtain even on the Emperors; it is no dishonour!*"

First Rung of the Ladder.

On 13th December 1634 Aurangzeb first set his foot on the official ladder when he was made commander of Ten Thousand Horse. Next September he was sent to suppress the Bundela rebellion, at the head of three armies. The issue of that expedition again typified the character of the supreme commander: the survivors of the *jauhar* were dragged to the Mughal *harem*; two sons and one grandson of Jajhar were converted to Islām; another son and minister of the Rāja, having refused to apostatise, were executed in cold blood. "The lofty temple of Bīr Singh at Urchha was demolished and a mosque was erected on its site. The fort of Jhānsi was taken (end of October) and the spoils of war, including the buried treasure of Bīr Singh, amounted to one *kror* of Rupees."[1]

Viceroy of Deccan and Gujarat.

The next step of Aurangzeb was nothing short of the viceroyalty of the Deccan to which he was appointed in 1636. The city of Aurangabad, which was named after him, was made the viceregal capital. The conquest of Udgir, Ausa, Baglana, etc., and the subjugation of the intrepid Maratha general Shāhji and Kheloji Bhonsle were effected during this period, 1636-44. In this last year (1644) Aurangzeb was called to Agra by the illness of his sister Jahānara. Within three weeks of this he was deprived of his southern viceroyalty, rank and emoluments, it is said, owing to Dārā's persistent hostility towards him. However, by the intercession of Jahānara he was appointed viceroy of Gujarat, 16 February, 1645. From here he was nominated to the command of the Balkh expedition in 1647. Within

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 11.

the short period of two years in Gujarat, Aurangzeb had shown sufficient administrative capacity and firmness.

Frontier Command.

Though Balkh had to be restored to Nazir Muhammad, it was during this campaign that Aurangzeb distinguished himself by his cool and steadfast faith, kneeling for prayer in the midst of a raging battle. The enemy in generous admiration stopped fighting and exclaimed: "To fight with such a man is to court one's own ruin." Nevertheless, 'the war cost the Indian treasury four *kror* of rupees, while not an inch of territory was gained as the result of it.'[1]

From March 1648 to July 1652 Aurangzeb was Governor of Multan and Sindh, during which period also he was called upon to besiege Kandahar twice (1649 and 1652), with no better success, however, than in Balkh. But the failure was due to no fault of the commander.[2] The building of a new port in place of the silted Thatta was a sample of Aurangzeb's peaceful activities.

Second Viceroyalty of Deccan.

Aurangzeb was again sent to the Deccan (1652). Spending nine months, which are unique in the puritan's life[3] at Burhanpur, he reached Aurangabad in November, 1653. The province had not prospered during his absence since 1644. A succession of incompetent viceroys had worked its ruin. Now, thanks to the efforts of Aurangzeb and his revenue minister, Murshid Kulī Khān, the province more than recovered its lost prosperity. The efficiency of both the administration and the army was improved by the dismissal of incompetent men, the inspection and supply of re-

1. Ibid., p. 21.

2. Shāh Jahān was no doubt angry with Aurangzeb for what he supposed to prove the latter's incapacity. "But in truth," as Sarkar points out, "it is unjust to blame Aurangzeb for the failure to take Qandahar. Throughout the siege he was really second in command. The Emperor from Kabul directed every movement through Sadullah Khān. His sanction had to be taken for every important step. Aurangzeb's best justification was afforded next year, when a still vaster and costlier expedition against Qandahar led by Dārā Shikoh met with an even more humiliating defeat."—Ibid., p. 24.

3. Aurangzeb's love episode with Hirā Bāi (also called ZaināVādi) finds no parallel in his puritanical life. This woman's 'supple grace, musical skill, and mastery of blandishments, made her the heroine of the only romance in the puritan Emperor's life. She was a slave-girl in the keeping of Mir Khalil who had married a sister of Aurangzeb's mother "The vision of her matchless charms," writes Sir Jadunath, "stormed Aurangzeb's heart in a moment; 'with shameless importunity he took her away from his aunt's house and became utterly infatuated with her.' So much so, that one day she offered him a cup of wine,....and the helpless lover was about to taste the forbidden drink when the sly enchantress snatched away the cup from his lips and said, 'My object was only to test your love for me, and not to make you fall into the sin of drinking!' Death cut the story short when she was still in the bloom of youth. Aurangzib bitterly grieved at her loss and buried her close to the big tank at Aurangabad."—Ibid., pp. 15-16; also see Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, pp. 41-46.

quisite stores and munitions, and the enforcement of proper training, etc. At the same time an annual saving of Rs. 50,000 was also effected. The conquest of Golkonda was pushed on until Shāh Jahān ordered capitulation and retreat (April, 1656). The services of the capable Mīr Jumla were enlisted for the Empire by creating him Prime Minister on the death of Sadullah Khān. Next year (1657) Bijapur was similarly invested. But the agents of Bijapur were busy at the Imperial capital. So at the moment of Aurangzeb's success, Shāh Jahān accepted the terms of Adil Shāh: Bidar, Kaylani, and Parenda were to be ceded together with the payment of a war indemnity of one *kror* of rupees.

Thus both Golkonda and Bijapur were saved from complete annexation owing to Shāh Jahān's hasty overtures over the head of the Deccan Viceroy. To make matters worse, his illness in September 1657 plunged the Empire in civil war.

Fratricidal War.

Dārā Shikoh, the heir presumptive, had been his father's favourite all these years. It was owing to his influence over Shāh Jahān that Aurangzeb had been rather badly treated; at least so the latter believed. His religious proclivities only alarmed Aurangzeb who was cherishing dreams of becoming the Defender of the Faith. His frequent transfers, disparagement, and interference by his father, irritated Aurangzeb beyond all patience. His suspicious nature more and more pointed to his eldest brother as the source of all mischief, present and potential. The censorship established by Dārā over all news from the capital, during Shāh Jahān's illness, made matters worse. Rumours of all variety escaped through the gagged silence. The jealous brothers only saw in this Dārā's sinister motives: to usurp the throne, to imprison, or possibly murder the Emperor! What then of the fate of his distant brothers? What above all, Aurangzeb must have thought, of the fate of Islām in India?

Murād set the example by proclaiming himself Emperor, in Gujarat, under the title of Maruwwaju-d din (5th December). He was all haste and fire. But Aurangzeb was caution itself. They concerted many plans together, and finally by the beginning of 1658 set their armies in motion.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb's diplomacy had already begun to work. Before he quitted the Deccan he took due precautions to pacify both Golkonda and Bijapur. He urged, no doubt, Kutb Shāh to pay up his arrears

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Aurangzeb's emotion at this time is enshrined in the words put into his mouth by Dryden in his tragedy, *Aurang-Zebe*. To Indumora (a fictitious character) he says:

'Love mounts, and rolls about my stormy mind,
Life-fire that's borne by a tempestuous wind.
Oh, I could stifle you, with eager haste!
'Devour your kisses with hungry taste!
Rush on you! eat you! wander over each part,
Raving with pleasure, snatch you to my heart!
Then hold you off, and gaze! Then, with new rage,
Invade you, till my conscious limbs overflow!
So lost, so blest, as I but then could know!'

of indemnity, but at the same time he ordered the Mughal envoy at Golkonda to do nothing that might jeopardise Mughal interests. To Adil Shāh he offered a bait to keep Bijapur friendly : 'Remain loyal and keep your promises,' he wrote. 'I agree that (1) the fort of Parenda and its dependent territory, the Konkan, and the *mahal* of Wāngi, which have been annexed to the Empire, together with that portion of the Karnatak which had been granted to the late Adil Shāh, should be left to you as before ; and (2) out of your promised indemnity of one *kror* of Rupees, thirty *lakhs* are remitted. Protect this country ; improve its administration. Expel Shiva who has sneaked into the possession of some forts of the land. Do you send me at least 10,000 cavalry. I shall grant you all the territory up to the bank of the Banganga.'[1]

Aurangzeb was also actively intriguing, though with utmost secrecy, to enlist the grandees of the Empire on his side ; they on their side knew how to secure their own interests, for it was well known that Aurangzeb was by far the most experienced and capable among the brothers.

How Aurangzeb triumphed in the War of Succession that thus started has already been told in some detail. Nor need the sorrowful tale of the fate of the defeated brothers be repeated here again. Success proclaimed Aurangzeb's diplomatic and military ability.

'Birth-right's a vulgar road to kingly sway ;
'Tis every dull-got elder brother's way.
Dropt from above he lights into a throne ;
Grows a piece with that he sits upon ;
Heaven's choice, a low, inglorious, rightful drone.
But who by force a sceptre does obtain,
Shows he can govern that, which he could gain.
Right comes of course, whate'er he was before ;
Murder and usurpation are no more.'

II. FRONTIER WARS

The principal wars of Aurangzeb's reign were waged to suppress the Hindu reaction to his oppressive religious policy. Apart from these there were also the political wars of conquest directed towards extension of territory. The frontier wars, in the north-east and the north-west, were more or less of a punitive character.

Assam. Ever since the peace of 1639 there had been no trouble in the north-east of the Empire. But the inefficiency of Shuja's Bengal administration and the opportunity afforded by the Succession War encouraged the Ahoms to reassert their independence. In 1657 Prem Nārāyan, the ruler of Kuch-Bihar, sent an army into Mughal territory, ostensibly in pursuit of a recalcitrant vassal. Next year Gauhati, the capital of Kāmrup, was plundered and occupied by the Assamese. But not until the end of the Civil war, in 1660, could the

1. Ibid., p. 55.

Mughals do anything to retrieve their position in this quarter. In that year Mīr Jumla, the redoubtable lieutenant of Aurangzeb, was appointed Governor of Bengal, and ordered to 'punish lawless zamīndārs of the province, especially those of Assam and Māgh (Arrakan).'[1]

On 1st November, 1661, Mīr Jumla started on his great campaign from Decca. His army consisted of 12,000 horse and 30,000 foot, besides a flotilla of over 300 war-vessels.[2] In six days' time the capital of Kuch-Bihar was taken and rechristened Alamgīrnagar; a mosque was built over its demolished temple, and the entire kingdom was annexed. Other victories soon followed: the enemy's fleet of 300 vessels was seized, and Jayadhwaj, Rāja of Garhgaon, was expelled. The spoils taken were enormous:—"82 elephants, 3 *lakhs* of rupees in cash, 675 pieces of artillery, 1345 camel-swivels, 1200 *Ramchangis*, 6750 matchlocks, 340 maunds of gun-powder, a thousand and odd boats, and 173 store-houses of paddy, each containing from 10 to 1,000 maunds of grain."[3]

But the outbreak of an epidemic of fever and flux, in August, carried away vast numbers of both the people and the army. In one Mughal corps alone, out of 1,500 troopers under Dilir Khān, only 450 were left. In the whole of Assam no less than 230,000 people succumbed to the catastrophe, in a single year. "In the Mughal camp no suitable diet or comfort was available for the sick; all had to live on coarse rice; no wheat, no pulse, no *ghee*, no sugar, and no opium or tobacco except a little at fabulous prices. A pipe of tobacco sold at Rs. 3, a *tola* of opium at a gold *mohar*, a seer of *mung-dāl* at Rs. 10, and salt also at the same rate as the last. The Hindustāni and Turki soldiers languished for want of wheaten bread; the horses perished from eating rice."[4]

In all these trials and sufferings Mīr Jumla retained his equanimity and lived and ate like any common soldier. When the rains ceased, he resumed the offensive, but he was not destined to complete this conquest. He was seized with pleurisy and fever which soon became very serious. So a treaty was signed with the Ahom king, through the mediation of Dilir Khān, in December 1662. According to Khāfī Khān, the Rāja 'agreed to pay 120,000 *tolas* of silver, and 2,000 *tolas* of gold, and to present fifty elephants and *one of his ugly daughters* to the Emperor. He also agreed to present fifteen elephants and another daughter to Khān-Khānan, together with some cash and goods. It was further agreed that of the conquered places a few forts and towns in cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal should be attached to the Imperial dominions.'[5]

Mīr Jumla died at Khizrpur, on the frontiers of Kuch-Bihar, on the 12th *Ramzān*, at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign of Aurangzeb

1. Ibid., p. 124.
2. The most powerful of these, called *ghurabs*, carried 14 guns and 60 men each, and were towed by 4 *kosas* or long row-boats.
3. Ibid., p. 125.
4. Ibid., pp. 127-8.
5. E. & D., op. cit., p. 268. For further details see Sarkar, op. cit.,

(31st March, 1663). "No other general of that age," observes Sarkar in his well-merited encomium "conducted war with so much humanity and justice, nor kept his soldiers, privates and captains alike, under such discipline; no other general could have retained to the last the confidence and even affection of his subordinates amidst such appalling sufferings and dangers. The owner of 20 maunds of diamonds, viceroy of the rich province of Bengal, he shared with the meanest soldier the privations of the march and brought premature death on himself by scorning delights and living laborious days. He issued strict orders forbidding plunder, rape and oppression on the people, and saw to it that his orders were obeyed. The stern punishment which he meted out to the first few offenders had a salutary effect. We realize Mīr Jumla's peculiar excellence more clearly by contrast with others. With a hero like Mīr Jumla, rhetoric of the historian Talish ceases to be extravagance; his eulogy of the general is not fulsome flattery but homage deservedly paid to a born king of men."[1]

Speaking of his campaign Prof. Bhattacharya writes: "It was the most daring and audacious piece of imperialistic venture, almost unparalleled in the annals of Mughal India, and has not probably been surpassed even in modern times."[2]

Despite these glorious exploits, however, the Mughals lost much at the close of the next four years. Under the ambitious Chakradhwaj, who ascended the throne in November 1663, the Ahoms reconquered their possessions. Gauhati fell in November 1667; and all the efforts of the Mughals to recover it proved vain. Then the Ahoms fell on evil days, Kāmrup having become prey to civil war. During the eleven years, 1670-81, seven kings sat on its throne, and not one of them died a natural death. The Mughals profited by this, and "took advantage of it to extend their sway over southern and eastern portions of the kingdom, conquering much of the present districts of Rangpur and Western Kamrup, and forcing the Rāja in 1711 to confirm these gains by treaty."[3]

The Afghans.

The Pathāns of the north-western frontier have ever been a perpetual source of irritation to all Indian governments. They have always been independent, but hardly ever united. This dubious heritage of theirs has been our advantage as well as disadvantage. Like monsoon clouds sometimes they have gathered thick and poured into the plains of the Punjab; but soon they have found themselves scattered by the strong winds of inter-tribal jealousy. A strong government at Delhi has always acted on them as the blaze of the summer sun.

1. The beginning of 1667 was one such season of storm and stress. The Yusufzais under a great leader named Bhagu had assumed kingship and crossed the river Indus, above Attock, with a force of 5,000 clansmen

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 130-31.
2. *Mughal N. E. Frontier Policy*, p. 395.
3. Sarkar, loc. cit., p. 133.

blessed by Mullah Chalak, a man of saintly reputation. They were soon followed by other bands of marauders who spread over Peshawar and Attock districts like swarms of pestilential locusts. But the Emperor took strong measures, and by October 1667 they melted away with heavy losses. Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Mīr Jumla, succeeded in quieting the frontier for a period of five years.

2. The next turn was that of the Afridis. In 1672 they rose under their tribal chief Acmal Khān, "a born general, who crowned himself king, struck coins in his own name, and proclaiming war against the Mughals, summoned all the Pathan clans to join the national movement and closed the Khaibar Pass."[1]

Muhammad Amin Khān was still in charge of Afghanistan, intoxicated with past success, failed to apprehend the force of the present rising. The result was the oft repeated tale of disaster. "Ten thousand men fell under the enemy's sword in the field, and above two *krores* of Rupees in cash and kind was looted by the enemy. They captured twenty thousand men and women and sent them to Central Asia for sale." Even the family of M. Amin Khān was captured and had to be ransomed at a very heavy price. This victory fired the imagination of the tribesmen who now began to flock round the standard of Acmal Khān. The poet chieftain of the Khataks, Khush-hal Khān, also joined the rebels, inspiring them 'with his pen no less than his sword.'

"The danger to the empire was very great : the rising was a national one, affecting the whole Pathān land 'from Kandahar to Attock,' and its leaders were also men who had served in the Mughal army in Hindustan and the Deccan, and knew the organisation, efficiency and tactics of the imperialists."[2] But Aurangzeb was not the man to be cowed or baffled by such a danger. M. Amin Khān was at once replaced by the more experienced Mahābat Khān. In the middle of November, 1673, Suja'at Khān and Rāja Jaswant Singh were also sent with reinforcements. Though the want of co-operation among these generals led to another disaster in 1674, Mughal prestige was soon vindicated. Aurangzeb himself proceeded to Hasan Abdāl (between Rāwal Pindi and Peshawar), in June 1674, and for a year and a half personally directed the operations. After much fighting, with reverses intermixed with victories, the Imperial forces finally emerged triumphant.

The result was as much due to diplomacy and intrigue, as to force and military tactics. "Many clans were won over by the grant of presents, pensions, *jāgīrs*, and posts in the Mughal army to their headman."[3] With the appointment of Amīr Khān, in March 1677, as Viceroy at Kabul, a period of peace and prosperity followed. This able officer was a son·

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 141.
2. Ibid., p. 142 : cf. of Malbar rebellion of 1919.
3. Sarkar, loc. cit., p. 144. The part played by one Aga khān in the suppression of the Afghans was of such ruthless character that his name was invoked by Afghan mothers to frighten children for years afterwards.

in-law of Ali Mardān Khān, and was ably assisted in his administration by his wife, Shāhibi, who was a woman of great energy, tact, and wise counsel. Aurangzeb's policy of 'breaking two bones by knocking them together' (i.e., setting clan against clan and breaking both) was continued. The financial success of Amīr Khān's regime is indicated by a despatch of his to Aurangzeb, dated 25th October, 1681, wherein he states, 'Six *lakhs* of Rupees were allotted by Government to be paid to the Afghans for guarding the roads. I have spent one and half *lakhs* and saved the remainder to the state.'

Still the Khataks continued to fight, and made the employment of Afghans against the Rajputs impossible; on the contrary they diverted much of the military force from the South to their own suppression, and thus allowed Shivāji comparative freedom to attain the climax of his career (1676-79).[1]

III. NORTH INDIA

"The reign of Aurangzeb," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "is naturally divided into two equal parts of about 25 years each, the first of which he passed in Northern India and the second in the Deccan. During the earlier of these two periods the centre of interest lies unmistakably in the North, not because the Emperor lived there, but because the most important developments, civil and military, concerned this region, while the South figured as a far off and negligible factor. In the second half of the reign the situation is reversed: all these resources of the empire are concentrated in the Deccan; the Emperor, his court and family, the bulk of the army, and all his best officers live there for a quarter century, and Hindustān sinks back to a place of secondary importance."[2]

Apart from the two frontier wars already described, the disturbances in North India were of two classes: (*a*) revolts against Aurangzeb's religious policy; (*b*) minor disorders created by pretenders, unsubmissive chieftains, or pirates. The latter may be disposed off with brief notices before proceeding to the former.

Minor Disturbances.

Throughout the reign a series of pretenders caused some temporary excitement in different parts of the Empire. There were: a false Dārā in Gujarat (1663), a false Shuja in Morang (west of Kuch-Bihar, 1669), another among the Yusufzai (1674), a third in Kashmir (1707), a bogus son of Shuja in Allahabad (1699), and a counterfeit Akbar in the Deccan (1699).

1. Ibid., pp. 146-7.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 100.

The principal chieftains or Rājas to cause the movement of armies were (1) Rao Karan of Bikanir, who submitted towards the close of 1660; (2) Champat Rai Bundela (a collateral descendant of Bīr Singh Dev), who after considerable fighting committed suicide together with his Rāni Kāli Kumāri, rather than submit to the Mughal (1661)[1]; (3) the Chero Rāja of Palamau, whose kingdom was annexed to the *Subāb* of Bihar, (1661); (4) the rebel prince of Morang, who was forced into submission in (1664), and again in 1676; and (5) Rāja Bahādur Chand of Kumaon, who after a protracted struggle (1665-1673) also submitted. The Buddhist ruler of Tibet too acknowledged Mughal suzerainty in 1665, as the result of an expedition led from Kashmir. The pirates of Chatgaon will be dealt with later in the section on Europeans. We now turn to the principal disturbances in North India which were due to Aurangzeb's wanton attacks on the Hindus.

PERSECUTION OF HINDUS

The religious policy of Aurangzeb and his attitude towards non-Muslims in general, together with a discussion of all its implications, will be taken up at the end of this chapter. The persecution of the Hindus was the most momentous feature of Aurangzeb's reign. But for it, in spite of his puritanism, his regime might have been one of the most glorious instead of being the most ominous and fateful. Despite the fact that Aurangzeb had in him nearly as much Hindu blood as Muslim, he turned out to be a bitter hater of the Hindus. His grandmother (Shāh Jahān's mother) was a Hindu. Shāh Jahān's father was only half Muslim, inasmuch as his mother too was a Hindu. One of Aurangzeb's own principal queens (Nawab Bai, the mother of his successor Bahādur Shāh) was also a Hindu, being the daughter of the Rajput Rāja, Rāju, of the Rājauri State in Kashmir. So too was Aurangzeb's favourite Hirā Bāi with whom he fell head over heels in love at Burhānpur, during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. Of his other wives, one was a Persian (Dilras Banu Begum), daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān, a scion of the ruling house of Persia—the champion of the Shia sect; another (Udipuri Mahal, the mother of Kām Bukhsh) was, according to the contemporary Venetian traveller Manucci, a Georgian slave-girl captured from Dārā Shikoh's harem. What a

1. Rāja Chhatra Sāl Bundela, was the son of these parents.

long list of contaminating contacts! But Aurangzeb's fanaticism was certainly not born in the *harem*, as Akbar's eclecticism is supposed to have been, by some writers.

That this bigoted policy was not fitful, as in the case of Shāh Jahān's destruction of temples, but deliberate and relentlessly systematic, will be borne out by the following collocation of facts :—

1. Wholesale destruction of Hindu temples.
2. Re-imposition of the hated *Jiziya*.
3. Exaction of heavier customs duties from Hindus.
4. Dismissal of Hindus from Imperial services.
5. Prohibition against the free exercise of their religious rites —*Holi* and *Divāli*.
6. Prohibition of Hindu fairs.
7. Prohibition of wearing arms, fine dresses, and riding by Hindus.
8. Proscription of Hindu learning.

Destruction of Temples.

"Aurangzeb began his attack on Hinduism," observes Prof. Sarkar, "in an insidious way."[1] He professed at first only to prohibit the building of new temples by the infidels.[2] Early in his reign local officers in every town and village in Orissa, from Cuttack to Medinipur, were asked to pull down all temples, great and small, built during the last ten or twelve years and *to allow no old temples to be repaired*.[3] The final step in this direction was the general

1. Ibid., p. 155.

2. This is indicated by the Benares *Farmān* of Aurangzeb, addressed to Abdul Hasan, dated February 28, 1659, granted through the mediation of Prince Sultān Muhammad Sultān. It reads :—

'It has been decided according to our Canon Law that longstanding temples should not be demolished, but no new temple allowed to be built....Information has reached our....Court that certain persons have harassed the Hindus resident in Benares and its environs and certain Brahmans who have the right of holding charge of the ancient temples there, and that they further desire to remove these Brahmans from their ancient office. Therefore, our royal command is that you should direct that in future no person shall in unlawful ways interfere with or disturb the Brahmans and other Hindus resident in those places.'

(Cited by Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, III, pp. 319-20)

3. Order issued on all *faujdārs* of *thānahs*, civil officers (*Mutsaddis*), agents of *Jāgīrdārs*, *kroris*, and *amlas*,—

'Every idol-house built during the last 10 or 12 years, whether with brick of clay, should be demolished without delay. Also, do not allow the cursed Hindus and despicable infidels to repair their old temples. Report of the destruction of temples should be sent to the Court under the seal of the *qāzis* and attested by pious Shaikhs.' (Ibid.)

order issued in April, 1669. 'On the 17th *Zi-l kada*, 1709, it reached the ear of His Majesty, the Protector of the Faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan, and Benares, but especially in the latter, foolish Brahmans were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools, and that students and learners, Musulmans as well as Hindus, went there, even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. The Director of the Faith consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship.'[1]

Aurangzeb's inconoclastic zeal appears to have been conceived very early in his life. In 1645, while he was Governor of Gujarat, he converted the temple of Chintāman into a mosque and named it *Quwat-ul-Islām.* He also ordered a cow to be slaughtered in the shrine. But the building was restored to the Hindus by order of Shāh Jahān. However, when Aurangzeb came to power, he issued a *farmān* (dated November 20, 1665) to the following effect :—

"In Ahmadabad and other *parganahs* of Gujarat in the days before my accession [many] temples were destroyed by my order. They have been repaired and idol worship has been resumed. Carry out the former order."[2]

Among the famous temples thus destroyed in this tornado of fanatical fury, were those of Somnāth in Kathiawar (rebuilt since Ghazni destroyed it), Vishwanath (Benares) and the *Dehra of Keshav Rai* (Mathura, built by Bīr Singh Dev Bundela, at a cost of 33 *lakhs* of Rupees). There was also wholesale demolition of temples in Kutch-Bihar, Ujjain, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Golkonda, Bijapur and Mahārāshtra.

A glint of the fanatical fervour is still preserved for us in the pages of the admiring chroniclers. The *Ma'asir-i-Alamgīrī* writes :

'Glory be to God, who has given us the faith of Islām, that, in this reign of the destroyer of false gods, an undertaking so difficult of accomplishment has been brought to a successful termination! This vigorous support given to the true faith was a severe blow to the arrogance of the Rājas, and, like idols, they turned their faces awe-struck to the wall. The richly jewelled idols taken from the pagan-temples were transferred to Agra, and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Nawāb Begam

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 183-84.
2. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, p. 319.

Sāhib's mosque, in order that they might ever be pressed under foot by the true believers. Mattra changed its name into Islāmābād.'[1]

Similarly, of the achievements in Jodhpur, the writer says, 'Khān-i Jahān Bahādur returned from Jodhpur after demolishing its temples, and bringing with himself several cartloads of idols. The Emperor ordered that the idols, which were mostly of gold, silver, brass, and copper, or stone, and adorned with jewels should be cast in the quadrangle of the court and under the steps of the Jama mosque for being trodden upon.'

Only in Maharashtra Aurangzeb found the houses 'exceedingly strong and built solely of stone and iron.' He complains, 'The hatchet-men of the Government in the course of my marching do not get sufficient strength and power (i. e. time) to destroy and raze the temples of the infidels that meet the eye on the way.' 'So he ordered: You should appoint an orthodox Inspector (*darogha*) who may afterwards destroy them at leisure and dig up their foundations.'[2] How symbolic and ironical! The Marathas did the digging of the foundations at leisure not of temples, but of the Mughal dominion!

In 1674 lands held by Hindus in Gujarat, in religious grants, were all confiscated.

Jiziya.

'Fight those who do not profess the true faith, till they pay *jiziya* with the hand in humility,' said the Prophet of Islām (*Qurān*, ix, 29). Yet this invidious tax had not been levied within the Mughal dominions since its abolition by Akbar more than a century before Alamgīr, the World-Compeller, revived it. In the words of the official history compiled from State papers: 'All the aims of the religious Emperor being directed to the spread of the law of Islām and the overthrow of infidel practices, he issued orders that from *Rabiu-l* (2nd April, 1679), *jiziya* should be levied from the *zimmis* in accordance with the Qurānic injunction.'

Sir Jadunath Sarkar from whom the above citation is taken, states, "The theory of some modern writers that the *jaziya* was only commutation money paid for exemption from military service is not borne out by history." He also observes, "We shall not be far wrong in holding that the *jaziya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's *direct* contribution to the State."[3]

The enthusiasm with which the poll-tax was collected by the more fanatical officers is illustrated by the conduct of Mīr Abdul

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 184-85.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 323-24.
3. Ibid., pp. 311-12.

Karim, Prefect of the City of Burhanpur : he "increased the yield of the tax from Rs. 26,000 a year for the whole city to more than four times the amount in three months for half the city only (1682)."

The Emperor's attitude with respect to this special imposition was—"You are free to grant remissions of revenue of all other kinds ; but if you remit any man's *jaziya* which I have succeeded with great difficulty in laying on the infidels, it will be an impious change (*bidate*) and will cause the whole system of collecting the poll-tax to fall into disorder."[1] So when thousands of Hindus gathered to remonstrate to the Emperor, he gave them an hour's time to disperse, and then simply rode his elephants over their protests.[2]

Customs Duties.

Unfortunately the *jiziya* was not the only invidious tax that the Hindus had to pay. 'An order was promulgated,' says Khāfī Khān, 'exempting the commercial goods of Musalmans from tax throughout the dominions of Hindusthan. But after a short time, upon the reports of revenue officers, and by recommendation of good and experienced persons, an order was issued that every article belonging to Musalmans, the price of which was not large should pass free ; but that goods of value should pay duty. Goods belonging to partners were not to be troubled with duties. The revenue officers then reported that Musalmans had adopted the practice of dividing their goods into small parcels in order to avoid the duty, and that they passed the goods of Hindus in their names, and thus the payment of the *zakāt* prescribed by the Law was avoided. So an order was given that, *according to the Law, two and a half percent should be taken from Musalmans and five percent from Hindus.*'[3]

Sarkar gives a slightly different version of this discrimination, but the basic fact to be noted is that distinction was made between

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1. Ibid., pp. 309-10.
2. See Khāfī Khān ; E. & D., op. cit., p. 296.
3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 293. "By an ordinance issued on 10th April, 1665," writes Prof. Sarkar, "the customs duty on all commodities brought in for sale was fixed at 2½ p. c. of the value in the case of the Muslims and 5 p. c. in that of Hindu vendors. This was called the *mashul* or duty, and must not be confounded with the *zakat* or tithes which all Muslims had to pay on the *increase* of their wealth, and the proceeds of which could, by the Qurānic law, be spent on Muhammadans alone. On 9th May, 1667, the Emperor abolished the customs duty altogether in the case of Muslim traders, while that on the Hindus was retained at the old level." (*Aurangzib, III*, p. 313 and p. 314).

subjects on account of their religious creed. To be a Hindu was a disability.

Other Anti-Hindu Measures.

In November, 1665, Aurangzeb issued a proclamation in Gujarat to the following effect :—'In the city and *parganahs* of Ahmadabad (i.e. Gujarat), the Hindus following their superstitious customs light lamps in the night of *Divāli*, and during the days of *holi* open their mouths in obscene speech and kindle the *holi* bonfire in *chaklas* and *bazārs*, throwing into the fire the faggot of all people that they can seize by force or theft. It is ordered that in *bazārs* there should be no illumination at *divāli*, nobody's faggot should be taken by force or theft and flung into the *holi* bonfire and no obscene language used.'[1] Although the regulation regarding *holi* was undoubtedly a wholesome measure, its being coupled with the prohibition of *divāli* illuminations, it was calculated to excite Hindu popular resentment.

Similarly, in 1668, following the example of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq in the 14th century, Aurangzeb also forbade Hindu *jatras* at which, as Khāfī Khān says, 'on certain days countless numbers of Hindus, men and women of every tribe, assemble at their idol temples, when *lacs* of rupees change hands in buying and selling, and from which large sums accrue to the provincial treasuries.'[2]

In 1671 it was laid down that all rent collectors in crown-lands ought to be Muslims. The provincial viceroys and *tālukdārs* were also called upon to dismiss their Hindu head-clerks (*peshkars*) and accountants (*diwānian*) and to replace them by Muhammadans. And to crown all, in March 1695, all Hindus excepting Rajputs were forbidden to ride well-bred horses, elephants, or *pālkis*, and to wear arms.[3]

Hindu Reaction

This arbitrary rule provoked even the meek Hindus to rebel, and a large crop of troubles sprang from this sowing of the dragon's teeth.

Jāt Rebelllions.

The first reaction showed itself in a series of peasant risings round about Mathura. "Some frantic attempts were made on the Emperor's life, but they were childish and ended in failure." In June 1669

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 318.
2. E. & D., op. cit., p. 283.
3. Sarkar, loc. cit., p. 318.

Qazi Abdul Mukaram was murdered by the disciples of a Hindu *sādhu* named Uddhav Bhairāgi, as the latter had been imprisoned 'for his seduction of men to false knowledge.' As a result both the murderers and the *sādhu* were put to death by order of Aurangzeb.

Abdun Nabi, *faujdār* of Mathura, had provoked the people by his destruction of a Hindu temple and the erection of a mosque on its site, in 1661-2. By order of Aurangzeb he had also forcibly removed, in 1666, the stone railing presented to the Keshav Rāi temple by Dārā Shikoh. Such acts became more and more frequent. Consequently, there was a rising of the Jāt peasantry in 1669. In an attempt to put down the revolt under Gokla of Tilpat, Abdun Nabi was shot dead on 10th May, 1669. Reprisals followed, and towards the close of the year, or beginning of 1670, the rich temple of Keshav Rāi was razed to the ground, and a mosque erected in its place. 'The den of iniquity thus destroyed,' writes Saki Musta'id Khān, 'it owed its erection to Nar (Bīr ?) Singh Deo Bundela; an ignorant and depraved man......Thirty-three *lacs* were expended on this work.[1] Lawlessness increased and spread towards Agra, until Gokla Jāt's following numbered 20,000 strong. Finally, in one terrible engagement the rebel leader was taken captive and hacked to pieces. 4,000 of the victors and 5,000 of the rebels died fighting; 7,000, including Gokla's family, were arrested, and forcibly converted with the exception of those who were proved innocent and released. During the campaign the Emperor, with admirable inconsistency, 'humanely detached 200 horsemen to guard the crops of the villagers and prevent the soldiers from oppressing any of them and taking any child prisoner.' Yet in March, 1670, Hassan Ali Khān was "engaged in slaying and capturing the rebels, plundering their houses, *extirpating their families*, and dismantling their strong [mud] forts."[2] Again, in June 1681, a *faujdār* in the environs of Agra was obliged to lead an expedition against the Jāts, and got killed in the attempt. As late as 1688, the irrepressible Jāts once more raised the standard of revolt under Rājah Rām, and after his death under Churāman Jāt. They carried on a desultory warfare until the end of Aurangzeb's reign, 'and could not be subdued by that Emperor's decadent successors.'[3]

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 184.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 334.
3. Ibid., p. 336; for a fuller account of these and other minor disturbances in North India between 1685--1707, see Sarkar: *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 397-402.

Satnāmi Rising.

The *Satnāmis* (or followers of the True Name of God) were a strange sect with their stronghold at Narnaul (75 miles s. w. of Delhi). Ishwardās Nāgar, a contemporary historian, has described them as "extremely filthy and wicked. In their rules they make no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans, and eat pigs and other unclean animals. If a dog is served up before them, they do not show any disgust at it! In sin and immorality they see no blame."[1]

In like manner the author of the *Ma'asir-i Alamgīrī* also fulminates against them :

'It is cause for wonder that a gang of bloody, miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners, and other ignoble beings, braggarts and fools of all descriptions, should become so puffed up with vain-glory as to cast themselves headlong into the pit of self-destruction. This is how it came to pass. A malignant set of people, inhabitants of Mewat, collected suddenly as white-ants spring from the ground, or locusts descend from the skies. It is affirmed that these people considered themselves immortal; seventy lives was the reward promised to every one of them who fell in action. A body of about 5,000 had collected in the neighbourhood of Narnaul, and were in open rebellion. Cities and districts were plundered. Tahir Khān *faujdār*, considering himself not strong enough to oppose them, repaired to the presence. The King resolved to exterminate the insurgents.....The royal forces marched to the encounter; the insurgents showed a bold front, and although totally unprovided with the implements of war, made good use of what arms they had......The heroes of Islām fought with impetuosity, and crimsoned their sabres with the blood of these desperate men.'[2]

Khāfī Khān's more sober narrative gives other details.

'One of the remarkable occurrences of this year (May, 1672) he writes, 'was the outburst of the Hindu devotees called *Satnāmis*, who are also known by the name of *Mundihs* (i.e. clean shaven fellows). There were four or five thousand of these, who were householders, in the *parganas* of Narnaul and Mewat. These men dress like devotees, but they nevertheless carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion they have dignified themselves with the title of "Good Name," this being the meaning of *Satnām*. *They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it.* Many of them have weapons and arms.

'At the time Aurangzeb was returning from Hasan Abdal, a strong altercation arose one day near Narnaul, between a man of this sect, who was engaged in agricultural work, and a man who was keeping watch

1. Cited by Sarkar, op. cit., p. 337.
2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 185-87.

over the harvest. The latter broke the *Satnāmi's* head with his staff. A number of *Satnāmis* then collected and beat the watchman, so that they left him for dead. When intelligence reached the *shiqdār*, he assembled his men and sent them to arrest those *Satnāmis*. Meantime numbers of the *Satnāmis* assembled. They attacked the *shiqdār's* men, overpowered them, wounded several, and took away their arms. Their numbers went on increasing, and information was carried to Kar-talab Khān, *faujdār* of Narnaul......To shorten a long story, suffice it to say that after several fights the *faujdār* was killed, and the town of Narnaul fell into the hands of the *Satnāmis*. They proceeded to collect the taxes from the villages, and established posts of their own. When the Emperor reached Delhi, he was informed of this outbreak, and he sent force after force to quell it, but they were all defeated and dispersed. It was said that swords, arrows, and musket-balls had no effect upon these men, and that every arrow and ball which they discharged against the royal army brought down two or three men. Thus they were credited with magic and witch-craft, and stories were currently reported about them which were utterly incredible. They were said to have magic wooden horses like live ones on which their women rode as an advance guard.

'Great *rājas* and veteran *amīrs* were sent against them with powerful armies. But the rebels were eager for the fight, and advanced to about sixteen or seventeen *kos* from Delhi. The royal army went forth boldly to attack them; but the *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood, and some cowardly Rajputs, seized the opportunity to throw off their obedience, and to withhold the government dues. They even broke out into open violence, and the flames daily increased. The King ordered his tents to be brought out. He then wrote some prayers and devices with his own hands, which he ordered to be sewn on the banners and standards, and carried against the rebels. At length, by the exertions of Rāja Bishan Singh, Hamīd Khān, and others, several thousands of them were killed, and the rest were put to flight, so that the outbreak was quelled.'[1]

The Sikhs.

The Sikh religion, founded by Bābā Nānak (1469-1539 A.D.), was the outcome of the impact of Islām on Hinduism. In the words of Bhāi Gurudās: 'Truth is hidden both from the Hindus and the Muhammadans; both sects have gone astray. But when they lay aside superstition they form one body of Sikhs.' The apostolate of the Sikhs, from Bābā Nānak, the founder, to Guru Govind Singh, the last Guru, consisted of ten leaders. Their total regime lasted from 1469—1708, i.e., almost exactly synchronous with the Great Mughals, from Bābur to Aurangzeb. The second, Guru Angad (1539—52), was a contemporary of Humāyūn (1530-56). The fifth, Guru Arjun (1581-1606), had become so important that, according to a contem-

1. E. &. D., op. cit., pp. 294-96.

porary, 'The Emperor [Akbar] and kings bow before him. Wealth ever cometh to him.' We have already observed the fate of this Guru under Jahāngīr: his sympathy with the rebellious prince Khūsrū ended in his virtual execution. His son and successor, Har Govind (1606-45), was cast in a martial mould. "I wear two swords," he said, "as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined." He had to undergo twelve years' confinement in Gwalior fort for his father's non-payment of the fine imposed upon him by Jahāngīr. Early in the reign of Shāh Jahān (1628), Har Govind's pompous retinue came into conflict with the Imperial hunting party. This led to military retaliation, in which the Imperialists were routed with heavy loss at Sangrana, near Amritsar. But finally, the rebellious Guru was forced to take refuge at Kirātpur in the Kashmir Hills, where he died in 1645. Dārā Shikoh paid frequent visits to Har Rai, the seventh Guru (1645-61), and was blessed by him. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he called upon Har Rāi to answer for this; but Har Rāi only sent his eldest son Rām Rāi to the Imperial Court. The latter having fallen into the Imperial trap, was disinherited by the father, who consequently, at the time of his death (in 1661), nominated his second son Har Kishen successor. Rām Rāi thereupon contested the *gādi* with the support of Aurangzeb. Har Kishen was sent for, but death snatched him away in 1664. However, the choice of the Sikh community now fell on Tegh Bahādur, the youngest son of Hār Govind. In 1668 this new Guru appears to have fought in the Mughal ranks in the Assam war, under Rām Singh, son of Mīrza Rājah Jai Singh. But on his return to the Punjab, "he was drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzeb had raised by his policy of religious persecution. A soldier and priest could not remain indifferent while his creed was being wantonly attacked and its holy places desecrated."[1] So he threw himself heart and soul into the movement against forcible conversions that had been going on in Kashmir and other places. Such conduct was bound to arouse Imperial wrath sooner or later; and when that happened the Guru ended his life as a martyr.

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1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 354. The whole of the above account is abstracted from Sarkar, who quotes Khāfi Khān to show that 'Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents (*masanns*) for collecting the titles and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities.'

There are different versions of the details of this tragedy. Prof. Sarkar says, "Taken to Delhi, he was cast into prison and called upon to embrace Islām, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then beheaded on a warrant from the Emperor."[1] According to M'Gregor, Tegh Bahādur was sent for by Aurangzeb at the instigation of Rām Rāi, as a usurper of the Sikh *gādi* : The Guru was told that unless he gave some explanation of his conduct, he should not be liberated. At length the Guru gave his answer, "Since you wish it, I will give the explanation required. I will place a written paper round by neck, which you cannot cut with a sword." Having said this, and written on a piece of paper, he tied it round his neck and then requested the emperor to order some one to cut it! The blow was given, and the head of the Guru rolled on the floor! The paper was then read and contained these words :—

"*Sir dya aur Sirr ne dya.*"[2]

Cunningham, on the other hand, writes : "Tegh Bahādur followed the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and choosing for his haunts the wastes between Hansee and the Sutlej, he subsisted himself and his disciples by plunder, in a way, indeed, that rendered him not unpopular with the peasantry. He is further credibly represented to have leagued with a Mahometan zealot, named Adum Hāfiz and to have levied contributions upon rich Hindoos, while his confederate did the same upon wealthy Musulmans. They gave a ready asylum to all fugitives, and their power interfered with the prosperity of the country ; the imperial troops marched against them, and they were at last defeated and made prisoners. The Mahometan saint was banished, but Aurangzeb determined that the Sikh should be put to death." He was accordingly summoned to Delhi, where the incident described by M'Gregor took place. "Such is the narrative of a rude and wonder-loving people," concludes Cunningham ; "yet it is more certain that Tegh Bahādur was put to death as a rebel in 1675, and that the stern and bigoted Aurangzeb had the body of the unbeliever publicly exposed in the streets of Delhi."[3]

Finally, V. A. Smith gives a flattering anecdote in this connexion, for which, however, no definite authority is cited by him :

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1. Ibid., pp. 354-5.
2. i.e., "I gave my head, but not my secret."—M'Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, I. p. 67.
3. *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 92-4.

"According to a famous story he (Teg Bahādur) was accused while imprisoned at Delhi of turning his gaze in the forbidden direction of the imperial female apartments. He replied to the charge by saying :

'Emperor Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments, or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy hangings (*pardās*) and destroy thy empire.'"[1]

Tegh Bahādur, on his way to Delhi, anticipating his fate, had handed on the torch of hatred to his son and successor, Govind Singh. "Girding upon him the sword of Hur Govind, he hailed him as the Gooroo of the Sikhs. He told him he was himself being led to death, he counselled him not to leave his body a prey to dogs, and *he enjoined upon him the necessity and the merit of revenge.*" At the time of these happenings Govind Singh was only fifteen years of age. "The violent end and the last injunction of the martyr Gooroo, made a deep impression on the mind of Govind, and in brooding over his own loss and the fallen condition of his country, he became the irreconcilable foe of the Mahometan name, and conceived the noble idea of moulding the vanquished Hindoos into a new and aspiring people."[2]

We need not trace in detail the personal history and training of Guru Govind for the task he had set himself :[3] "In the heart of a powerful empire he set himself the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degradation and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, singleness of purpose, and enthusiasm of desire. Govind was equally bold, systematic, and sanguine ; but it is not necessary to suppose him either an unscrupulous impostor or a self-deluded enthusiast. He thought that the minds of men might be wrought upon to great purpose,. . . .and he believed the time had come for another teacher to arouse the latent energies of the human will. His memory was filled with the deeds of primaeval seers and heroes ; his imagination dwelt on successive dispensations for the instruction of the world, and his mind was perhaps unhinged

1. *O. H.*, p. 454.
2. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 93-5.
3. *The Vichitra Nātak*, which forms the Tenth Book of the *Granth*, is an autobiography of Guru Govind Singh.

with a superstitious belief in his own earthly destiny."[1] In short, Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and last of the Sikh Apostolate (1676-1708), was one of whom it had been said: 'he could convert jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks.' He inspired his followers with the belief that 'where there are two Sikhs, there is a company of saints; where there are five Sikhs, there is God!' He made the Sikhs homogeneous by the abolition of all caste distinctions, and making them 'as free in matters of eating and drinking as a Musalman.' "I shall make men of all four castes lions," he said, "and destroy the Mughals." He drilled and disciplined his men into a body of ironsides. Indeed, as Prof. Sarkar has well observed: "If Cromwell's Ironsides could have been inspired with the Jesuits' unquestioning acceptance of their Superior's decisions on moral and spiritual questions, the result would have equalled Guru Govind's Sikhs as a fighting machine."[2]

To oppose Mughal Imperialism he assumed the outward insignia of its grandeur. He lived in princely state, "kept a train of poets in his court, and made plenty of gold ornaments for himself and his family. His body-guards were provided with arrows tipped with gold to the value of Rs. 16 each; and he had a big war drum made in imitation of the Mughal imperial band."[3] But among fellow Sikhs he lived on terms of perfect equality. When he introduced the new baptism, to the great astonishment of his disciples, he received it in ret (?) at their hands! When he reorganised the Sikh community as the *Khālsa* (the pure, or God's own people), he gave them the appellation of Singhs or lions. They were always to wear the five Ks.: *Kes*—long hair, *Kanga*—a comb, *Kirpan*—a sword, *Kaech*—shorts, and *Kara*—a steel bracelet. The nature of the transformation is well indicated in the Guru's first address to his disciples: "Since the time of Bābā Nānak," he said, "*Charanpahul* hath been customary. Men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility; *but Khālsa can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms.* Therefore, I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger and change my followers from *Sikhs* (disciples) to *Singhs* (lions)." Ere long he gathered together a formidable force of about 80,000 followers.

1. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 97-8.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 358-9.
3. Ibid., p. 359.

He had for a long time to contend with the local chieftains and *Rājahs* in Kashmir and the Punjab, then ultimately with the organised might of the Empire. In the course of these struggles, strongly reminiscent of the trials and tribulations, the fortitude and courage and determination of Rāṇa Pratāp Singh, he lost two of his sons in fighting, and two others gave their heads as the penalty for refusing to apostatise. On hearing of these losses the Guru uprooted a shrub by his side, and exclaimed, "As I dig up this shrub by the roots, so shall the Turks be extirpated."[1] Of course he did not live to achieve this ambition. But as Cunningham truly points out, success is not always the measure of greatness. "The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectively roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty, although fitful, longing for social freedom and national ascendancy."[2]

The last act of Guru Govind breathing defiance was the letter he addressed to Aurangzeb, known as the *Zafar Nāma*. When the Emperor summoned him to his presence, he wrote to him declaring—

'I have not a particle of confidence in thee. I was forced to engage in the combat and fought to the utmost of my ability. When an affair passeth beyond the reign of diplomacy, it is lawful to have recourse to the sword. If thou come to the village of Kangar, we shall have an interview. Thou shalt not run the slightest danger on the way, for the whole tribe of Bairars are under me. I am a slave and servant of the King of kings and ready to obey His order with my life. If thou hast any belief in God, delay not in this matter. It is thy duty to know God. He never ordered thee to annoy others. Thou art seated on an Emperor's throne; yet how strange are thy justice, thine attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas! A hundred times alas! for thy sovereignty! Strange, strange is thy decree! Smite not any one mercilessly with thy sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O man, be not reckless, fear God. He is the Emperor of earth and heaven. He is the creator of all animals from the feeble ant to the strong elephant. He is the Protector of the miserable and destroyer of the reckless. What though my four sons were killed? I remain behind like a coiled snake! What bravery is it to quench a few sparks of life? Thou art merely exciting a raging fire. I will not enter thy presence, nor travel on the same road with thee, but if God so will it, I will proceed against thee. When thou lookest to thine army and wealth, I look to God's praises. Thou art proud of thine Empire, while I am proud of the Kingdom of the Immortal God. Be not heedless; *this caravanserai is only for a few days.*

1. A similar anecdote is related of Chānakya re the Nandas.
2. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 123.

People leave it at all times. Even though thou art strong, annoy not the weak. *Lay not the axe to thy Kingdom.*'[1]

The Emperor, indeed, left this caravanserai in a few days, and the prophetic Guru was saved for the time being. When Prince Muazzam was on his way to secure Aurangzeb's throne, Guru Govind joined him. In recognition of the service rendered by the Khālsa army, Bahādur Shāh put Govind Singh in command of 5,000 horse. But during the campaign in the Deccan, whither Guru Govind had accompanied the Emperor, he was assassinated by a Pathān who had an ancient grudge to feed fat on him. This happened at Nānder on the Godāvari (150 miles north-west of Haidarabad) in 1708. With him ended the Sikh Apostolate of the Ten Gurus. His constant desire had been

Now be pleased to grant me the boon I crave with clasped hands :

That when the end of life cometh, I may die fighting in a mighty battle!

His last message to his followers was : "I have entrusted you to the Immortal God. Ever remain under His protection ; trust no one besides. Wherever there are five Sikhs assembled, who abide by the Guru's teachings, know that I am in the midst of them....I have infused my soul into the *Khālsa* and the *Granth Sāhib*....Obey the *Granth Sāhib*. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who desireth to meet me deligently search its hymns."[2]

RAJPUT RESISTANCE

Chitor dismantled.

Towards the close of Shāh Jahān's reign (1653-54 A.D.) Rāṇā Jagat Singh of Udaipur had made bold to restore the walls of Chitor, against treaty-stipulations since their destruction by Akbar. As the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* has it :

"From the time of the late Emperor Jahāngīr, it had been settled that no one of the Rāṇā's posterity should ever fortify it ; but Rāṇā Jagat Singh, the father of Rāja Jai Singh, having set about repairing it, had pulled down every part that was damaged, and built it up very

1. Abridged from *Ramanand to Ram Tirth* (Natesan, Madras) pp. 155-57.
2. Ibid., p. 158.

strongly anew.' Shāh Jahān, when he came to know this, 'dispatched Allāmi, with a large number of nobles and *mansabdārs* and 1,500 musketeers, amounting altogether to 30,000, for the purpose of hurrying on in that direction, and demolishing the fort of Chitor.....He also directed him, if perchance the Rāṇā did not tender his obedience, to overrun his territory with the royal forces, and inflict suitable chastisement on him. The Rāṇa having temporised, 'On his arriving within twelve *kos* of Chitor, which is the frontier of the Rāṇa's territory, inasmuch as the latter's negotiations had not yet been satisfactorily terminated, he commenced plundering and devastating, and depasturing his cattle on the crops. On the 5th of *Zi-l hijja*, this year, having reached the environs of Chitor, he directed working parties with pick-axes and spades to overthrow that powerful stronghold. Accordingly in the course of fourteen or fifteen days, they laid its towers and battlements in ruins, and having dug up and subverted, both the old and the new walls, levelled the whole to the ground. The Rāṇa having awoke from his sleep of heedlessness at the advent of the prosperous banners at Ajmir, the irresistible force of the royal arms, the dispersion of the peasantry, and the ruin of his territory, sent off a letter containing the humblest apologies to Court, along with his eldest son, who was in his sixth year, and a number of his principal retainers, in company with Shaikh 'Abdu-l Karim, the Prince Buland Iqbāl's *Mir-i buyutat*. A *farmān* was then issued to Jamdatu-l Mulk ('Allāmi), that since the fort had been domolished, and the Rāṇa had sent off his son to Court, *the pen of forgiveness had been drawn through the register of his delinquencies* at the Prince Buland Iqbāl's solicitation.'[1]

Lull before Storm.

Rajputana was at peace with the Empire for a quarter century since this happened. Rāja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur) commanded Mughal armies against the Marathas, as we shall see in a later section of this chapter. During the fateful War of Succession, the former had, indeed, fought against Aurangzeb at Dharmat, and, betrayed him at Khajwah. But Aurangzeb finally won him over. The crafty Emperor, as Tod says, 'always preferred stratagem to the precarious issue of arms' and 'addressed a letter to Jeswant, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Gujarat if he would withdraw his support from Dārā, and remain neuter in the contest.' This was achieved through the mediation of Mīrza Rāja Jai Singh, after Khajwah and before Deorai (5th January—13th March, 1659). In spite of their good services, however, the two Rājas shared an equally disastrous fate. Aurangzeb suspected both of complicity

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 103-4.

with Shivāji, and ultimately got rid of both by poisoning the one and sending the other "beyond the Attock to die."[1]

Sighs never ceased from Aurangzeb's heart, it was said, while Jaswant Singh lived. In the estimation of the immortal historian of Rājasthān : "The life of Jeswant Singh is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajpootana....Throughout the long period of two and forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Aurangzeb,.... to his conflicts with the Afghans. Although the Rāhtore had a preference amongst the sons of Shāh Jahān, estimating the frank Dārā above the crafty Aurangzeb, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own ; and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all."[2]

Invasion of Mārwar.

The twenty-five years of Rajput acquiescence, following the dismantling of Chitor, therefore, formed merely the lull before a storm.[3] The death of Jaswant Singh at Jamrud, on 10th December, 1678 was practically a signal for war. The valiant Rajput had been sent to fight the Afghans with the hope that he might not return. During his absence 'Maroo' (Mārwar) had been left in the charge of Prithvi Singh, Jaswant Singh's heir. Aurangzeb summoned Prithvi Singh to his Court and at the end of flattering entertainment presented him with a poisoned 'dress of honour'—"That day was his last!" This bereavement, together with the loss of two other sons at Kabul, hastened the death of Jaswant Singh who had been sufficiently worn out by the trials of the campaign. Before three weeks were out Aurangzeb's plans regarding Jodhpur had already been set in motion.

The State being virtually without a head, and Jaswant's best troops away in Afghanistan, the Mughals had an easy way to everything. Muslim officers were at once appointed to the posts of *Faujdār*, *Qilādār*, *Kotwāl*, and *Amīn* at Jodhpur. On 9th January, 1679, Aurangzeb himself set out for Ajmer to overawe opposition. On 7th February, Khān-i Jahān Bahādur was despatched with a band of high officers "to occupy the country, to demolish its tem-

1. Tod, *Rājāsthan*, II, pp. 878-79 and 1207.
2. Ibid., pp. 879-80.
3. See "Origins of the Rajput-War (1679-81) by Yashpal, I. H. Q., XVII, 4, Dec. 1941, pp. 430-41.

ples, and seize the late Mahārājah's property."[1] On 2nd April Aurangzeb returned to Delhi and took the momentous step of re-imposing the *jiziya*. Evidently he was flushed with the triumph of having subjugated Jodhpur, the rallying centre of militant Hinduism in the North. Next month Khān-i Jahān returned to Court taking with him cart-loads of broken idols from Jodhpur to be trodden under foot by pious Muslims at the capital. To complete the work of humiliating Mārwar, the throne of Jaswant Singh was sold to the Chief of Nagar for 36 *lakhs* of Rupees, and the latter occupied it on 26th May, 1679, under Imperial escort.

Ajit Singh and Durgādās.

But soon a cloud appeared on the horizon. Two widowed queens of the dead Mahārājah had given birth to two sons at Lahore in February. Though one of these succumbed within a few weeks, the other lived to sit on his father's throne, at the end of a very romantic career. This was Ajit Singh the protégé of the heroic Durgādās, whom Tod describes as the Ulysses of the Rāhtores, and whom the Rajputs still adore as the epitomé of their chivalry :

"*Eh! Mātā poot esa jin*
Jessa Doorgā-dās!
Band Moordra rakheo
Bin thama ākhās!"[2]

"This model of a Rajput, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of its prince, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent and more difficult salvation."[3]

Aurangzeb, when he heard of the posthumous children, at once thought of capturing them. They were brought to Delhi, but the strategy of Durgādās saved Ajit Singh for Mārwar. The narrative of how it happened may be told in the words of Khāfī Khān :—

'There was an old standing grievance in the Emperor's heart respecting Rāja Jaswant Singh's tribute, which was aggravated by these posthumous proceedings of the Rajputs. He ordered the *kotwāl* to take his own men, with an additional force obtained from the *mansabdārs*, as well as some artillery, and to surround the camp of the Rajputs, and keep guard over them......

1. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, p. 370.
2. Tod, op. cit., p. 892. "Oh, mother! produce such sons as Doorgā-dās, who first supported the dam of Moordra, and then propped the heavens (without a pillar)!"
3. Ibid.

'Meanwhile the Rajputs had obtained two boys of the same age as the Rāja's children. They dressed some of the female attendants in the garments of the *rānis*, and taking every precaution that their stratagem should not be discovered, they left these women and the boys under guard in their camp. The (real) *rānis*, disguised as men, went off at night in charge of two trusty servants and a party of devoted Rajputs, and made their way with all speed to their own country. The brave and active chiefs, who might have stopped or overtaken them, were keeping guard over the tents in which the pretended children of the Rāja were. After two or three watches, when a report of the fact was made, some officials were sent to make inquiries, and it was repeatedly stated that the *rānis* and the children were still there. Orders were then given for taking all the Rāja's followers into the fortress. The Rajputs and the disguised women, who were ready to fight like men for the honour of their Rāja, made a determined resistance. Many were killed, but a party escaped.

'The flight of the *rānis* was not clearly proved (!) Some men, who wished to show their zeal, and to cover their negligence in the matter, asserted that the boys had escaped, and that the *wazīr* had sent out a force to secure them. The Royal forces went in pursuit twenty *kos* from Delhi, but they could not overtake the Rajputs, and returned unsuccessful. The two (substituted) boys were given into the charge of the women of the royal *harem*, and were there brought up. The two boys whom the Rajputs carried off were for a long time *rejected by Aurangzeb, who refused to acknowledge that they were the sons of Jaswant*, until all doubt was removed by the Rāṇa of Chitor, who married Ajit Singh to a girl of his family.'[1]

The whole strategy had been planned and executed by Durgādās, a son of Jaswant Singh's minister Askaran, Baron of Drunera. "Fighting against terrible odds and a host of enemies on every side, with distrust and wavering among his own countrymen, he kept the cause of his chieftain triumphant. Mughal gold could not seduce, Mughal arms could not daunt that constant heart. Almost alone among the Rāhtors he displayed the rare combination of the dash and reckless valour of a Rajput soldier with the tact, diplomacy and organising power of a Mughal minister of State."[2] The other death-loving Rajputs, who immortalised themselves by staying the Mughal pursuit of the fugitives at every step, at the cost of their own lives, were Raghunāth Bhatti and Ranchhordās Jodha. While the route from Delhi to Mārwar, up to the point of the pursuers' exhaustion, was being dyed with the blood of brave Rajput bands, the custodians of Ajit Singh reached Jodhpur with their precious

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 297-98.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 375-76.

charge (23rd July, 1679). Mārwar quickly rallied round its infant king.

Muhammadi Rāj !

But Aurangzeb, ever resourceful in political legerdemain, declared Ajit Singh a pretender, and proclaimed a milk-man's lad of equal age, in his own custody, the real heir of Jaswant Singh. This Imperial ward was brought up in the Mughal *harem* as a rival to Ajit Singh, under the sinister name of Muhammadi Rāj ! At the same time a strong force of Mussalmans was sent to Mārwar for the reconquest of that State. "Anarchy and slaughter were let loose on the doomed province."

Second Invasion of Mārwar.

On 25th September, Aurangzeb once again took up his headquarters at Ajmer. Prince Muhammad Akbar, who was soon to play the rôle of Destiny, was put in charge of the campaign, with Tahawwur Khān, *faujdār* of Ajmer, as second-in-command. The first scene of the tragedy opened with the slaughter of the brave band of Mairtia Rāhtors under Rāj Singh—the Leonidas of this Thermopylæ—at the temple of the Sacred Boar, near Lake Pushkar. Thereafter every house in Mārwar became a stronghold to be captured, and every Rāhtor a stubborn Hereward the Wake. 'Maroo" was transformed into one vast arena of blood-shed, pillage, and devastation. Mosques arose like mushrooms on the sites of temples to proclaim the triumph of Islām in this Jerusalem of the Hindus. The nest was scattered though the bird had flown !

Mewār Joins.

'As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Aurangzeb pour his barbarians over the land.' It was indeed not a calamity for Mārwar alone, but an imminent danger to Mewar and other Rajput States as well. "The annexation of Mārwar was but the preliminary to an easy conquest of Mewar."[1] Besides, the rage for temple destruction was not likely to be stopped by the Aravali range. Already the demand for *jiziya* had been made even from the Mahārāṇa. The Sisodias, therefore, had every reason to make common cause with the Rāhtors. The fact that Ajit Singh's mother was a Mewar Princess, made such a combination both easy and natural.

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1. Ibid., pp. 382-83.

Mahārāṇa Rāi Singh, accordingly, began preparations for the defence of Mewar. He again fortified Chitor, and blocked the Deobari Pass leading to his capital. But Aurangzeb was too experienced a general to await developments. He left Ajmer on 30th November, 1679, for Udaipur. Deobari was occupied on 4th January, 1680. The Rajputs, finding themselves unequal to the enemy on the low lands, retired to the mountains, leaving even their capital deserted. So, Udaipur was occupied without much struggle. Its only defenders were in the great temple—'One of the wonders of the age and a building that had cost the infidels much money ; but the Muslims made short work of them.' This and three more temples of Udai-Sāgar met with the same fate. Hassan Ali Khān, the Mughal commander, desperately in search of the fugitives, found himself in a quandary for some time. The Rāṇa was, however, defeated on 22nd January. No less than 173 temples in the environs of Udaipur, and 63 in Chitor, fell under the strokes of the enemy. His work thus accomplished, Aurangzeb returned to Ajmer on 22nd March. Prince Akbar, with his base at Chitor, was left in charge of the rest. The Mughals had to pay dearly for this hasty retreat of the Emperor. Akbar was either too ill-equipped or too incompetent to meet the situation.

The Sisodias began to harass the enemy with the elusive tactics of guerilla warfare. By May the Rāṇa inflicted heavy losses on the Mughals. "A few days later, the Rajputs carried off a convoy of *banjaras* with 10,000 pack-oxen bringing grain to the prince's army from Malwa." Bhīm Singh, the Rāṇa's son, inflicted swift and sudden blows at unexpected points. "Our army," Akbar complained, "is motionless through fear !"

Third Invasion of Mārwar.

With this confession of defeat, Akbar was transferred to Mārwar. The Mewar command was now entrusted to Prince Azam (26th June) ; the other two Princes were merely to co-operate with him in delivering a three-fold attack : Azam from Chitor, Muazzam from Rājsamudra, and Akbar from Deosuri. The plan, however, miscarried.

Akbar took up his headquarters at Sojat (in Mārwar) on 18th July, 1680. But the situation became so perilous that the Prince only made a show of movement without any real action. At the end of September he shifted to Nadol, and on 19th November, under impatient orders from Aurangzeb, like 'the whining schoolboy, with

his satchel,. . . .creeping like snail unwillingly to school' (but without his 'shining morning face'), Akbar advanced up to Deosuri. But the result of this pressure in an impossible situation was far from what Aurangzeb had ever dreamt of. The year 1681 dawned with treason on its brow.

Akbar's Revolt.

On 1st January, Prince Muhammad Akbar donned the imperial robes, with the blessings of four *Mullahs* who declared Aurangzeb deposed for '*violation of the Islamic Canon Law* !'[1] According to Khāfī Khān, Prince Muazzam was first tempted by the Rajputs, but he failed to respond to their seduction.

'When they despaired success in this quarter, the Rajputs betook themselves to Prince Muhammad Akbar, taking advantage of his youth (he was only 23 years of age), and the favour of some of his friends. *Durgā Dās was their spokesman.* He was noted among them for his plausibility, and he used all his arts and wiles to persuade the Prince that they would supply him with forty thousand Rajput horse, and with abundance of treasure. This so dazzled the Prince that he was deluded, and several of his evil companions (Tahawwur Khān among them) artfully used their persuasions. So the inexperienced Prince was led astray from the path of rectitude, and through his youth and covetousness he fell into the snares of the Rajputs.'[2]

Prince Muazzam warned Aurangzeb of this defection, but he 'thought that Muazzam's letter about his brother Akbar was sheer calumny. Accordingly he wrote to him, and accused him of making a false charge, and praying that the Almighty would keep him in the right course, and preserve him from listening to the evil suggestions of designing people.'

But, 'soon afterwards the secret became public. Thirty thousand Rajputs under *Durgādās* joined the Prince. The news spread from tent to tent, and was the talk of young and old. It was reported that he had ascended the throne, and that coins had been struck in his name; that Tahawwur Khān had been made a *half-hazāri*, and had received the title of *Amīru-l umra*; that Mujahid Khān and other great servants of State, who were with the Prince, had received distinguished honours, which some of them had felt themselves constrained to accept. The Prince was doing his best to win the affections of all, and was said to be marching against Aurangzeb.

'On the forces being sent off under the command of Prince Akbar, against the infidels,' Khāfī Khān continues, "only Asad Khān and a limited number of officers and men were left in attendance upon the Emperor. All his retinue, counting the eunuchs and writers, did not exceed seven or eight hundred horsemen. A great panic fell upon the

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 406.
2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 300-1.

royal camp, and wild confusion followed. A letter under the royal signature was sent off in haste to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, urging him to come with all his army, and with the greatest haste, to Aurangzeb... ....The Prince obeyed the summons, and hastened to wait upon his father.'[1]

Meanwhile, there were a few important defections in the camp of the rebel Prince. Shihabu-d din Khān (father of the first Nizām of Hyderabad) was the first Mughal captain, after a hard two days' ride of 120 miles, to bring his brother Mujahid Khān from Akbar to Aurangzeb. Next was Akbar's right-hand man Tahawwur Khān, who was weaned away by a threatening letter from his father-in-law Inayet Khān (Aurangzeb's secretary). In it Tahawwur Khān was promised a pardon for his indiscretion, and failing response he was threatened that 'his women would be publicly outraged and his sons sold into slavery at the price of dogs.' (What a contrast to the conduct of Durgādās, who, when Akbar was in flight, as we shall presently see, gave shelter to his family and provided for their education at the hands of Muslim tutors!) The fate of Tahawwur, for all his whimsical conduct, was terrible. When he reached Aurangzeb's camp, he asserted the dignity of a Mughal courtier to enter the presence without being disarmed. This insistence was looked upon with suspicion of designs on the Emperor's life. From words at last they came to blows. 'Numbers fell upon him, and he was soon killed, and his head was cut off.'[2]

Aurangzeb's Ruse.

However, this might have happened, says Khāfī Khān, 'his murder caused great divisions in the Prince's army, and among his Rajputs, and they were much dispirited.' At such a moment Aurangzeb, it is alleged, thought of a ruse similar to that designed by Sher Shāh in his campaign against Mal Dev of Jodhpur: 'It was commonly reported,' says our historian, 'that Aurangzeb craftily wrote a letter to Prince Muhammad Akbar and contrived that it should fall into the hands of the Rajputs. In it he praised the Prince for having won over the Rajputs, as he had been instructed, and that now he should crown his service by bringing them into a position where they would be under the fire of both armies (viz., Akbar's and Aurangzeb's). This letter was the cause of great divisions among them.' In fact the plot eminently succeeded, and Prince Akbar awoke one morning to find himself deserted by his allies. The Rajputs discovered the reality too late. 'For all the mighty force which Prince Akbar brought against his father, the sword was not drawn, and no battle was fought, but his army was completely broken. The Prince was soon informed that the Rajputs had abandoned him. There remained with him only Durgādās, two or three confidential officers of the Rāṇa, and a small force of two or three thousand horse. Of all his old servants and men, these alone remained. He lost all courage, self-reliance, and

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 302.
2. Ibid., p. 303.

hope, and being utterly cast down, he took to flight. . . .Prince Muhammad Muazzam was ordered to pursue him.[1]

The rest of the story of Akbar may be briefly told.

End of Akbar.

He made his way, in spite of being hotly pursued, ultimately to the Court of Sambhaji at Rāigarh in the South. There he was well received. Sambhāji 'came forth to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *kos* from the fort Rāhiri, and fixed an allowance for his support.'[2] But Aurangzeb had issued orders to 'Khān-Jahān Bahādur, *Subādār* of the Dakhin, and to all the *faujdārs*, directing them to stop him, (Akbar) wherever he might come, to take him prisoner *alive if possible, if not, to kill him.*" When 'the report also came that an army had been sent under the command of Itikad Khān to effect the conquest of Rāhiri, Prince Muhammad Akbar. . . .thought it advisable to make his way as best as he could to Persia.' He embarked in February 1687, in a ship hired at Rajapur and commanded by the Englishman, Bendal.[3] But unfortunately, 'through the stress of weather,' Prince Akbar was stranded upon an island belonging to the Imām of Maskat, who 'affected to treat the Prince with hospitality and respect ; but in reality kept him under surveillance, and wrote to Aurangzeb offering to surrender the Prince for the sum of two *lacs* of rupees and for a charter exempting goods carried in the ships of Maskat from the payment of duty in the port of Surat. If Aurangzeb would send one of his officers, the Imām promised to give up the Prince.'

'Upon receiving this letter, Aurangzeb wrote to the officials of the port of Surat, directing them to act in accord with the proposition of the Imām.' But, in the meanwhile, the Shāh of Persia (the overlord of the Imām of Maskat) directed the Imām to render up 'the Prince (his guest) to him without delay, or an army would be appointed to deliver him and punish the Imām. So perforce the Imām delivered up the Prince to the Shāh's Officers.' He was received well in Persia, where he conceived the high ambition of invading India, as Humāyūn had done before him, with Persian assistance. But at Garmsir in Khurasan he died 'towards the close of the reign of Aurangzeb.[4]

Peace with Mewar.

"Akbar's rebellion,' as Prof. Sarkar has observed, "failed to change the sovereign of Delhi, but it brought unhoped for relief to the Mahārāṇa. It disconcerted the Mughal plan of war at a time when their net was being drawn closer round his State and even his hill refuge had been proved to be not invulnerable. Akbar's defection broke the cordon, and, by diverting all the un-

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 304.
2. Ibid., p. 309. For Akbar's activities and disappointments in Mahārāshtra, see Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 290, 299-301.
3. Ibid., p. 307.
4. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 308-9, 312-13.

tainted imperial troops into Mārwar, gave automatic relief to Mewar."[1] The valiant Rāṇa Rāj Singh had in the meantime died (22nd October, 1680) ; his successor, Jai Singh, was incapable of sustaining the struggle. Aurangzeb too now wanted to concentrate his attention in the South. Shivāji's death in April, 1680, had given rise to fresh hopes in that direction. The flight of Akbar (16th January, 1681) and the consequent pursuit had necessitated the diversion of the Imperial forces into the Deccan. Moreover, Sambhāji had provoked him by giving shelter to the fugitive Prince. So, all things pointed to the expediency of peace in the North. A welcome mediator was found in Shyām Singh of Bikānir who offered to hold the olive branch for either side.

Prince Muhammad Azam personally visited the Mahārāṇa on 14th June, 1681, near Rājsamudra, and the following terms were agreed upon between Mewar and the Empire :—

1. In lieu of the *jiziya* demanded from Udaipur, the *parganahs* of Mandal, Pur, and Bednor were to be permanently ceded to the Empire.

2. The Mughals were to withdraw all their forces from Mewar territory.

Jai Singh was recognised as Rāṇā, holding the rank of 5,000 horse in the Imperial peerage. Two months later Bhīm Singh, the hero of Mewar, entered Mughal service, was invested with the dignity of a Rāja and posted at Ajmer, for the war with the Rāhtors continued till August, 1709.

Mārwar continues the War.

This back-sliding of her ally did not affect the hostile attitude of Mārwar towards the Empire. For the Rāhtors there could be no peace until Ajit Singh was restored to the throne of his ancestors. Aurangzeb had, indeed, left for the South. But Mughal officers were still in charge of the State ; the army of occupation was still an eyesore to Maroo. The war of independence therefore, continued, until the death of Aurangzeb and the restoration of Ajit Singh.

Three definite stages may be marked out in this protracted struggle : (1) From 1681-87 it was entirely a people's war—kingless, leaderless and desultory; (2) 1687-1701 under Durgādās and Ajit Singh, who now assumed the leadership but could not, despite their victories, oust the Muslims from the sacred soil ; and (3) 1701-7

1. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, p. 419.

during which period, after much bloodshed and many reverses on both sides, the Mughal policy of greed and aggression completely broke down, and Mārwar recovered her national ruling dynasty.

1st Stage: 1681-87.

Ajit Singh was still an infant and in concealment; and Durgādas was away in the Deccan. But the Rahtors continued to fight against the Imperialists in much the same manner as the Netherlands did against the Spaniards, or the Marathas against the Mughals after the death of Sambhāji. They took refuge in the hills and out of the way places, and as one of their own bards put it: 'An hour before sunset every gate of Maroo was shut. The Muslims held the strongholds, but the plains obeyed Ajit....The roads were now impassable.' Their guerilla methods rendered them irrepressible and at the same time ruinous to the army of occupation. Their deadliest tactics were to cut off the Mughal supplies.[1]

2nd Stage: 1687-1701.

The return of Durgādās from Mahārāshtra, in 1687, gave a fillip to the Rāhtor war of independence. A valuable ally was also just then gained in Durjan Sāl Hada of Bundi who strengthened the national army with an addition of a thousand horse. Though the great Hada chief died soon after, the united Bundi and Mārwar forces succeeded in driving away most of the Mughal outposts, and also raided Imperial territory almost to the gates of Delhi.

In 1690 Durgādās won a conspicuous victory over Safi Khān, the Governor of Ajmer. But in Shujaet Khān, the Viceroy of Gujarat who was also now entrusted with the charge of Mārwar, the Rajputs found an adversary at once tough and subtle. With the help of the historian Ishwardās, a Nāgar Brāhman who had served in Jodhpur as revenue officer, Shujaet Khān induced Durgādās to send away Akbar's daughter (his ward) to the Imperial Court (1694). It was then that fanatical Aurangzeb was awakened to the spirit of Rajput chivalry in contrast to his own bigotry; for Durgādās had not even neglected the education of his Muslim ward,—she had been enabled to learn the Muhammadan scriptures in the very stronghold of the infidels! But Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar was still in Durgādās's custody, and he was not restored until 1698, when Aurangzeb granted Ajit Singh the *parganas* of Jhalor, Sanchod, and Siwana as his *jāgīr* with a *mansab* in the Imperial army.

1. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 392-93.

Though this might be looked upon as a humiliating compromise, it was highly expedient, and the two Rajput leaders only made use of it to gain time and opportunity for further advance. Durgādās himself was rewarded with the *faujdāri* of Patan and a *mansab* of 3,000. This he kept until 1701-2, when he again rebelled. The opportunity was afforded by the succession of Prince Muhammad Azam as Viceroy of Gujarat. Durgādās set fire to his tents and baggage and immediately rode away towards Mārwar with all his followers, by forced marches."[1]

3rd Stage: 1701-1707.

With this event the Rāhtor struggle entered on its third and last stage. To his great chagrin, however, Durgādās found Ajit "impatient of advice, imperious in temper, and jealous" of his well-merited influence in the royal council and popularity among his clansmen. The economic exhaustion of Mārwar, too, was complete, and war-weariness had seized the Rāhtors after a quarter century of incessant fighting. Once more, therefore, both Ajit and Durgādās bowed the head of submission to the proud Emperor (1704-5). But the final opportunity came on the eve of Aurangzeb's death. The twin fighters had again risen in revolt when the welcome news of the Emperor's demise reached their ears. On 7th March, 1707, Ajit was again on the march towards his ancestral capital. Jaffar Kuli, the deputy *faujdār* of Jodhpur, was soon expelled, and the son of Jaswant Singh at last set on his father's throne. Durgādās's herculean labours had not been in vain!

III. SOUTH INDIA

When Aurangzeb marched South in pursuit of his fugitive son, Prince Akbar, he marched to his doom. The Deccan was to prove his graveyard; and when, in 1707, he was buried there, more things went under the stone than the body of the dead Emperor. But before we come to the denouément of the great drama of Aurangzeb's life, we have to resume the tangle of South Indian history where we left it, viz., at the commencement of the fratricidal strife in 1657.

A. FALL OF THE ADIL-SHĀHI

Introduction.

On 4th October 1657 Aurangzeb retreated from Kalyāni on account of happenings we have already narrated. The conquest of Bijapur was then deferred for more vital considerations. The

1. Ibid., p. 396.

peace that had been secured by the Adil Shāh through the intercession of Dārā with Shāh Jahān, could not last, in the nature of things. The Bijapur ruler had promised to pay an indemnity of one *crore* of rupees and to cede the forts of Bidar, Kalyāni, and Parenda. But no sooner than Aurangzeb turned his back on the Deccan, it became clear that Adil Shāh would not yield without further struggle. On 1st January 1658 Mīr Jumla returned to Aurangabad baffled in his attempts to secure fulfilment of the treaty with Bijapur. Then came Aurangzeb's engrossing pre-occupations in North India. The History of Bijapur in the intervening period is mixed up with that of the Marathas and is not relevant to our purpose here. We may, therefore, hasten to relate the tragedy of the two Muhammadan kingdoms of the south, viz., Bijapur and Golkonda; for, once we have finished with them, we shall be free to consider undistracted Aurangzeb's last and fatal struggle with Mahārāshtra.

Jai Singh at Bijapur, 1665-6.

Jai Singh, who had been sent against Shivāji (about whom later), had, by June 1665, succeeded in concluding the treaty of Purandar detaching the Marathas from their alliance with Bijapur; nay more, he had secured from Shivāji, a promise to assist the Mughals with 7,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, under his own and his son Sambhāji's leadership respectively, in the intended campaign against Bijapur. The Adil Shāh was further weakened by the enticement of his nobility (e.g. Mulla Ahmad, a Navāyat from Konkan who occupied the second place among the Bijapur nobles), by profuse bribery. Attempts were also made to induce Kutb Shāh to keep aloof in the coming struggle. Nevertheless, 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry from Golkonda threw in their weight on the side of Bijapur. Jai Singh had under him 40,000 Imperial troops, besides 2,000 Maratha cavalry and 7,000 infantry under Netāji Pālkar. The last played a truant and took bribes from both sides; and although, therefore, Jai Singh came within 12 miles of Bijapur before the end of December (1665), after fighting a series of futile battles he was obliged to retreat.

Ali Adil Shāh II had made effective preparations for the defence. The regular garrison had been reinforced with 30,000 doughty Karnāṭakis, and the whole country around to a radius of 6 miles had been rendered a desert, so that the enemy might find neither shelter nor provisions. The result was that Jai Singh

had to retreat effecting worse than nothing. The campaign was a military failure. "Not an inch of territory, not a stone of a fortress, nor a piece of indemnity was gained by it. As a financial speculation it was even more disastrous. In addition to thirty *lakhs* of Rupees from the imperial treasury, Jai Singh had spent more than a *krore* out of his own pocket. Profuse as Jai Singh's payments were, they were exceeded by the engagements he made on behalf of his master."[1]

In October 1666 he was ordered to return to Aurangabad; next March he was recalled to Court. In May 1667 he made over charge of the southern command to Prince Muazzam and Jaswant Singh. On 2nd July, 1667, the broken-hearted general died at Burhānpur on his way to the capital.[2]

Anarchy in Bijapur.

Bijapur was no doubt saved for the time being. But the doomed city was a constant prey to rival factions. Afghans, Abyssinians and Deccani Musalmans vied with the Marathas in maintaining anarchy in the State. For the next ten years the Mughals carried on their depredations within the Adilshahi territory. "Looking collectively at the Mughal gains in the Deccan during the first twenty years of Aurangzib's reign," observes Sarkar, "we find that he had in 1657 annexed Kalyāni and Bidar in the north-eastern corner of the kingdom of Bijapur; the fort and district of Parenda in the extreme north had been gained by bribery in 1660; Sholāpur had been acquired by treaty in July 1668; and now Naldrug and Kulbarga were annexed. Thus, the vast tract of land enclosed by the Bhima and the Manjira east-wards up to an imaginary line joining Kulbarga to Bidar (77° E. longtitude) passed into Mughal hands, and the Imperial boundary on the south reached the north bank of the Bhīma, opposite Halsangi, within striking distance of Bijapur city,—while south-eastwards it touched Malkhed, the fortress of the western border of the kingdom of Golkonda."[3]

Ali Adil Shāh II died on 24th November 1672, and with him departed the glory of Bijapur. He was succeeded by his infant son Sikandar, a boy of four, and a period of anarchy ensued which

1. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 245-6.
2. According to Abbe Carz and Manucci, Jai Singh was poisoned by order of Aurangzeb:—See Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivāji*, p. 215 and n. 12.
3. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 252.

ended only with the extinction of the dynasty and the independence of the kingdom in 1686. The weakness and humiliation of Bijapur during this period are illustrated by the defection, to the Mughal camp, of 10,000 Bijapuris (Afghans, Deccani Musalmans and Marathas), and the compulsory submission of the Sultan's sister Shahar Banu (Pādishāh Bībi) to the Mughal *harem*. The idol of her family and people alike, this Princess left the city of her birth, on 1st July 1679, amidst the wailings of her near and dear ones, to enter the hated Sunni's seraglio.

Dilir Khān's Campaign.

Shivāji came to the rescue of distressed Bijapur with an army of 30,000 horse and provisions. He raided the Imperial territory between the Bhīma and the Narmada, burning, slaying, and plundering on all sides. Dilir Khān, the Mughal general despite great handicaps, retaliated with worse horrors in the Adil-shāhi dominion. "The villages in his path were utterly sacked; all their men, both Hindus and Muslims, were taken prisoner for being sold into slavery; and the women committed suicide by jumping down into the wells with their children......He next roamed about like a mad dog, slaying and looting with fiendish cruelty needlessly inflicting unspeakable misery on the innocent peasants, and turning into a barren wilderness the region from Bijapur city southwards to the Krishna and eastwards to the fort between the Krishna and the Bhima."[1] Despite all this, Dilir Khān could effect no more than Jai Singh before him. On 23rd Feb., 1680, he was recalled utterly discomfited.

Fall of Bijapur: 12th Sept., 1686.

Prince Muazzam's viceroyalty had proved a failure. His place was taken by Prince Azam to whom had been married the Bijapur Princess above referred to. Aurangzeb wrote threatening letters to Sultan Sikandar to make his submission and to allow the Mughal troops to march through his territory against the Marathas. But the Bijapur Prince answered these demands as the Belgians did the Kaiser at the commencement of the Great War (1914). The result was the utter devastation of Bijapur.

The desolation of the country all round and lack of supplies at first threatened the Mughal army with starvation. The price of corn rose at one time to Rs. 15 a seer! The army was in despair.

1. Ibid., 256-7.

But the courage and determination of Prince Azam steeled them : "You have spoken for yourselves," he said to his officers. "Now listen to me. Muhammad Azam with his two sons and Begum will not retreat from this post of danger so long as he has life. After my death, His Majesty may come and order my corpse to be removed for burial. You, my followers, may stay or go away as you like." The council of war then responded as Bābur's men had done before Khānua.

The siege of Bijapur began on 1st April 1685. It dragged on for 15 months, till June 1686, when Aurangzeb appeared in person. A deputation of Muslim theologians waited upon him, remonstrating : "You are the orthodox believer, versed in Canon Law, and doing nothing without the warrant of the *Qurān* and the decrees of the theologians. Tell us how you justify this unholy war against brother Muslims like us." Aurangzeb silenced them saying, "Every word you have spoken is true. I do not covet your territory. But the infidel son of the infernal infidel (Sambhāji) stands at your elbow and has found refuge with you. He is troubling Muslims from here to the gates of Delhi, and their complaints reach me day and night. Surrender him to me and the next moment I shall raise the siege." On neither side was there sincerity. The siege went on.

On Sunday, 12th Sept. 1686, the Adil Shāhis capitulated. At one o'clock in the afternoon the proud Sikandar Shāh, the last of the Adil Shāhs, went down before Aurangzeb in his camp in Rasulpur. His subjects with tears and lamentations lined the streets of Bijapur as he marched past. He was well received, but shorn of his royal dignity. Sikandar was enrolled in the Mughal peerage with the title of *Khān*, and given a pension of one *lakh* of rupees a year. The victorious Aurangzeb rested in the Sultan's palace for a few hours, rendered thanks to God for his triumph, and erased from its walls paintings drawn in violation of the Qurānic injunction not to vie with the Creator in depicting life. An inscription recording the victory was also put upon the famous cannon *Mālik-i-maidān*. Desolation stared at the city of Bijapur after this. Even the water seemed to dry up in the springs. Plague followed war and swept away more than half its population. Sikandar Sultan defeated, dethroned, imprisoned (in the fort of Daulatābad for some time), died near Sātārā on 3rd April, 1700, hardly 32 years of age. According to his last wish, "his mortal remains were carried to Bijapur and there buried at the foot of the sepulchre of his

spiritual guide Shaikh Fahimullah, in a roofless enclosure."[1]

B. Fall of the Kutb-shāhī

The Kutb-shāhī kingdom of Golkonda, though internally in no better condition than Bijapur,[2] had helped the latter more than once in the hour of trial. So long as Aurangzeb was engrossed with the task of extinguishing the Adil-shāhī, he thought it at least expedient to treat with Kutbu-l Mulk. But no sooner than his hands were free and strengthened by his conquest of Bijapur, he turned his earnest attention towards the annexation of the other Shia kingdom of the Deccan.[3] In the eyes of Aurangzeb the worst offence of Kutb Shāh was his fraternising with infidels. Shivāji, after his flight from Agra, in 1666, had received effective help from Golkonda in recovering his forts from the Mughals. In 1677 he had been again rapturously received at Haidarābād and promised an annual subsidy of one *lakh* of *hun* for the defence of his territory. Above all, the Brāhmans Mādanna and Akanna had been allowed to dominate the entire administration. Khāfī Khān thus describes the condition that justified interference by Aurangzeb :—

'It now became known to the Emperor that Abul Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk, Sovereign of Haidarabad, had entrusted the government of his kingdom to Mādanna and Akanna, two infidels, who were bitter enemies to the Musalmans, and brought great and increased troubles from them. The King himself was given up to luxury, drinking and debauchery ....Aurangzeb having turned his attention to the conquest of Haidarābād, and the subjugation of Abul Hasan, he first sent Khān Jahān Kokaltash......After this, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam with....were sent to effect the conquest of the country of Telingana.

Imperial Demands.

'Aurangzeb now sent Mīrzā Muhammad, the superintendent of his *ghusl-khāna*, to Abul Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk; with a message to this effect : "It has come to our hearing that you have two very fine diamonds of 150 *surkhs* in weight, with sundry other rarities. We wish you to ascertain the value of these gems, and to send them to us for the balance of tribute due." But he told his envoy confidentially that he did not send him to obtain the two diamonds, which he did not at all want, but rather to ascertain the truth of the evil reports which had reached him...... Abul Hasan swore that he had no such gems, and that if he had, he would

1. Ibid., p. 267.
2. For details see Ibid., pp. 268-9.
3. The strained relations between Aurangzeb and Golkonda are reflected in some interesting letters : See "Golconda Court Letters," K. K. Basu, J. B. O. R. S., XXVI, pt. 4.

have been happy to send them without any demand being made for them.....Such stones as his predecessors possessed had been sent to the late Emperor....

'Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was desirous of avoiding actual war by all means in his power. He sent a message to Khalilu-llah Khān (the Kutb-shāhī commander), offering peace on the following terms: *Abul Hasan must express regret for his offences and ask forgiveness. He must remove Mādanna and Akanna from the management of affairs, and place them in confinement.. The parganas of Siram, Rāmgir, etc., which had been taken by force, upon unjust grounds, from the possession of servants of the Imperial throne, must be restored. The balance of tribute due must be forwarded without delay.* The foolish *amīrs* of the Dakhin, in their pride, sent improper answers, regardless of the Imperial anger. So preparations for battle were made on both sides.'[1]

Destruction of Haidarābād.

When, however, Abul Hasan saw that some of his trusted nobles deserted to the Mughals, he fled to the fort of Golkonda for refuge. Following this there was great destruction and plunder at Haidarābād. 'Before break of day,' writes our historian, 'the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed, for in every part and road and market there were *lacs* upon *lacs* of money, stuffs, carpets, horses, and elephants, belonging to Abul Hasan and his nobles. Words cannot express how many women and children of Musulmans and Hindus were made prisoners, and how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured, carpets of great value, which were too heavy to carry, were cut to pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was struggled for. Prince Shāh Alām appointed officers (*sazawal*) to prevent the plunder, and they did their best to restrain it, but in vain. The *kotwāl* of the army received orders to go with the Imperial *dīwān*, with an escort of four or five hundred horse, to take possession of what was left of the property of Abul Hasan.'

A Truce.

Then, Khāfī Khān proceeds to tell us, a deputation came from Abul Hasan to wait upon Prince Mu'azzam 'most humbly and earnestly begging forgiveness of the sins which he had and had not committed....After a good deal of negotiation, the Prince took pity upon Abul Hasan and the inhabitants of the place. He accepted his proposals, upon certain conditions. *A tribute of one kror and twenty lacs of rupees was to be paid; in addition to the usual annual tribute. Mādanna and Akanna, the two brothers, and the chief causes of the war, were to be imprisoned and deprived of all authority. The fort of Siram and the pargana of Khir, and other districts which had been conquered, were to remain in the hands of the Imperialists, and Abdul*

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1. *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb;* E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 315.

Hasan was to ask forgiveness of his offences from Aurangzeb.'[1]

While these negotiations were proceeding, 'some women of great influence in the *harem*, without the knowledge of Abul Hasan, laid a plot for the murder of Mādanna and Akanna.... Whilst the two doomed wretches were proceeding from the *darbār* to their own houses, a party of slaves attacked them and killed them.... Many *Brāhmans* lost their lives and property on that day. The heads of the two brothers were cut off, and were sent to Prince Shāh Alam by the hands of a discreet person.'[2]

Siege of Golkonda: 1687.

Shāh Alam returned to Aurangzeb's camp at Sholāpur on 7th June, 1686. Bijapur fell on the 12th September, and on the 28th January following (1687) the Emperor arrived within two miles of Golkonda. The fort, surrounded with a strong granite wall over four miles in length and of great thickness, was further defended by 87 semi-circular bastions, 'each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing more than a ton.' Within it were mansions of nobles, bazārs, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines, stables, and cultivated fields, and space enough to accommodate the whole population of Haidarābād in times of danger. The whole was encircled by a deep ditch 50 feet broad.

Regular siege operations were commenced on the 7th February, 1687. Aurangzeb's charge-sheet against the ruler of Golkonda reads as follows :—

'*The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the* SAIYIDS, SHAIKHS, *and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day; making no distinction between infidelity and Islām, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels; want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cast a censure upon*

1. Ibid., pp. 320-21.
2. Ibid., p. 321.

the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men. No attention had been paid to them; moreover it had lately become known that a LAC *of* PAGODAS *had been sent to the wicked Sambha. That in his insolence and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next.'*

Whatever the plea, Aurangzeb was determined to lick up Golkonda. So, when Prince Shāh Alam showed inclinations to relent and intercede on behalf of Abul Hasan, he was ordered into the royal presence, his *mansabs* and *jāgīrs* were confiscated, and he was imprisoned. It was seven years before Aurangzeb's successor recovered his liberty.

'Day by day and week by week, the approaches (to the fort) were pushed forward under the direction of Ghāziu-d din Fīroz Jang, but they were encountered with great daring by the besieged under the command of Shaikh Nizām, Mustafa Khān Lari, otherwise called Abdur Razzak, and others. The fighting was desperate and many were killed on both sides......After one sharp encounter, in which a sally of the garrison was driven back with loss, Shaikh Minhaj, Shaikh Nizām, and others deserted Abul Hasan, and came over to the besiegers, when Aurangzeb granted to them suitable *mansabs* and titles.'

The siege continued for over eight months, the Mughals suffering heavy losses. Finally, when about 3 o'clock in the morning of 21st September, 1687, the Imperialists entered and captured the fort, it was treachery that decided the fate of Abul Hasan and not the military superiority of the Mughals. As Khāfi Khān puts it, 'Several times the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls; but the watchfulness of the besieged frustrated their efforts; so they threw away their lives in vain, and the fortress remained untaken. But the fortune of Alamgīr at length prevailed, and after a siege of eight months and ten days, the place fell into his hands; *but by good fortune, not by force of sword and spear.*'

Fall of Golkonda: 21 Sept. 1687.

Abdullah Pani, surnamed Sardār Khān, who was a fortune-hunting Afghan, and had successively broken faith with Bijapur and the Mughals, now did the same with Abul Hasan, and opened the gates of Golkonda for a bribe. In noble and heroic contrast to this petty fogging treachery stand the courageous loyalty of Abdur Razzak, and the dignified non-chalance of Abul Hasan himself in the hour of utter discomfiture.

'Of all the nobles of Abul Hasan', writes Khāfi Khān, 'the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place, and who throughout exerted himself in an inconceivable manner, was Mustafa Khān Lari, or, as he was also called, Abdur Razzak. Springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by ten or twelve followers, he rushed to the open gate through which the Imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, *like a drop of water falling into the sea, or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun*, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation, shouting that he would fight to the death for Abul Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded, and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds, and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertion kept his seat.'

When at last he was borne down by sheer exhaustion, Abdur Razzak was picked up senseless by the Imperial officers. 'A little bird made the matter known to Aurangzeb, who had heard of Abdur Razzak's daring and courage and loyalty, and he graciously ordered that two surgeons, one a European, the other a Hindu, should be sent to attend the wounded man, who were to make daily reports of his condition to Aurangzeb. The Emperor sent Ruhullah Khān, and told him that if Abdul Hasan had possessed only one more servant devoted like Abdul Razzak, it would have taken much longer to subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had counted seventy wounds, besides the many wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye was not injured, it was probable that he would lose the sight of both. They were directed carefully to attend to his cure. At the end of sixteen days, the doctors reported that he had opened one eye, and spoken a few faltering words expressing a hope of recovery. Aurangzeb sent a message to him, forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send his eldest son Abdul Kādir with his other sons, that they might receive suitable *mansabs* and honours, and return thanks for the pardon granted to their father, and for the *mansabs* and other favours. When this gracious message reached that devoted and peerless hero, he gasped out a few words of reverence and gratitude, but he said that there was little hope of his recovery. If, however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service; but should he ever be capable of service, *he felt that no one who had eaten the salt of Abul Hasan, and had thriven on his bounty, could enter the service of king Alamgir* (Aurangzeb). On hearing these

words, a cloud was seen to pass over the face of His Majesty ; but he kindly said, "When he is quite well, let me know." Most of Abdur Razzak's property had been plundered, but such as was left was given over to him.'

The Last Kutub Shāh.

If the account given by Khāfī Khān is true, the last king of Golkonda, whatever his other short-comings, acted with a composure and dignity worthy of the master of such a servant. When he heard that all was over, 'He went into his *harem* to comfort his women, to ask pardon of them, and take leave of them. Then, though his heart was sad, he controlled himself, and went to his reception room, and took his seat upon the *masnad* and watched for the coming of his unbidden guests. When the time for taking his meals arrived, he ordered the food to be served up. As Ruhullah Khān and others arrived, he saluted them all, and never for a moment lost his dignity. With perfect self-control he received them with courtesy, and spoke to them with warmth and elegance......Abul Hasan called for his horse and accompanied the *amīrs*, carrying a great wealth of pearls upon his neck. When he was introduced into the presence of Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh he took off his neck-lace of pearls and presented it to the Prince in a most graceful way. The Prince took it, and placing his hand upon his back, he did what he could to console and encourage him. He then conducted him to the presence of Aurangzeb, who also received him very courteously. After a few days the Emperor sent him to the fortress of Daulatābād, and settled a suitable allowance for providing him with food, raiment and other necessaries. Officers were appointed to take possession of Abul Hasan and his nobles.

'The property of Abul Hasan which was recovered after its dispersion amounted to eight *lacs* and fifty-one thousand *huns*, and two *krors* and fifty-three thousand rupees, altogether six *krors*, eighty *lacs* and ten thousand rupees, besides jewels, inlaid articles, and vessels of gold and silver. The total in *dams* was one *arb*, fifteen *krors*, sixteen *lacs* and a fraction, which was the sum entered on the records.'[1]

C. Struggle with the Marāthas

In hastening with the fall of Bijapur (1686) and Golkonda (1687) we anticipated the history of half a century. During this

1. Ibid., pp. 331-36.

period the seeds of a mighty power were sown that was to prove fatal to the Empire whose history we have been tracing. Shāhaji's capitulation, in 1636, before the joint forces of Khān-zamān, the Imperial officer, and Randaula Khān, the Bijapur commander, was indeed an act of expediency. This combination between the Empire and the Adil-shāhī, as we have already seen, was not to last long. The Marātha-shāhī that was to arise between these two powers was so placed geographically that it could successively bargain with either to the final discomfiture of both. Shivāji, the embodiment of this new power, though he did not live to witness the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda, had, while making use of both against the Mughals, so harassed them that their fall was only a question of time. The history of this period taken in all its phases is very complex and intriguing. But we shall narrate here only such parts of it as have a direct bearing on our principal theme. It would be convenient to study the Mughal-Maratha relations from the angle of Maratha leadership, which is the only way to avoid confusion. The rest of Maratha history is not relevant to our purpose.

1. Shāhji : 1636.

The personal history of Shāhji, father of Shivāji, need not detain us long. Abdu-l Hamīd Lāhorī introduces him to us in the following passage :—

'Nizāmu-l Mulk was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior, but *evil-minded Sāhu, and other turbulent Nizāmu-l Mulkis,* had found a boy of the Nizām's family, to whom they gave the title of Nizāmu-l Mulk. They had got possession of some of the Nizām's (Ahmadnagar) territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government. Now that the Emperor (Shāh Jahān) was near Daulatābad, he determined to send Khān-daurān, and Shayista Khān, at the head of three different divisions, to punish these rebels......'[1] The upshot of the whole campaign was that Shāhu finally submitted with the young Nizām. 'He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khān and the Imperial general....Accordingly the forts of Junir, Trimbak, Tringalwari, Haris, Judhan, Jund, and Harsira, were delivered over to Khān-zamān.....Randula, under the orders of Adil Khān, placed the young Nizām in the hands of Khān-zamān, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Sāhu.'[2]

2. Shivāji : 1646-80.

Shāhji's estate at this time, held under the Adil Shāh, consisted of the Poona district, "from Chākan to Indāpur, Supā, Shirwal, Wāi, and Jadgir, or a tract bounded on the west by the Ghāts, on the north

1. *Bādshāh-nāma* ; E. & D., op. cit., pp. 51-2.
2. Ibid., p. 60.

by the Ghod river, on the east by the Bhīma and on the south by the Nīra river."[1] This was the nursery, seedbed or nucleus of Shivāji's future power and greatness.

1646 was a year of crisis in the history of Bijapur : it was also the year of Shivāji's opportunity. He seized Torna and its treasure of two *lacs* of *hun*, and five miles east of it built a new fort called Rājagarh. Further conquests, all in the Bijapur territory, followed, leading to Shāhji's imprisonment as a hostage. Shivāji in his dilemma approached the Mughal prince Murād Baksh to secure the release of his father. There was some diplomatic correspondence between prince Murād and Shivāji on the matter, in the course of the year 1649. Through whatever agency[2] Shāhji was released at the end of that year, and Shivāji kept quiet till 1655. During the latter year he captured Jāvli from the Morés, which considerably added to his power.[3]

Shivāji's activities are thus characterised by the hostile historian Khāfī Khān :

> 'He was distinguished in his tribe for courage and intelligence ; and for craft and trickery he was reckoned a sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud. In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky, and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode...... Adil Khān of Bijapur was attacked by sickness, under which he suffered for a long time, and great confusion arose in his territory......Shivāji seeing his country left without a ruler, boldly and wickedly stepped in and seized it, with the possessions of some other *jāgīrdārs*. This was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants have spread over the rest of the Konkan and all the territory of the Dakhin ....He assembled a large force of Marātha robbers and plunderers, and set about reducing fortresses....Evil days fell upon the kingdom of Bijapur in the time of Sikandar Ali Adil Khān II, whose legitimacy was questioned, and who ruled when a minor as the *locum tenens* of his father. The operation of Aurangzeb against that country when he was

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1. Sarkar, *Shivāji*, p. 22.

2. Sarkar thinks Shāhji's release was secured by the friendly mediation of Sarza Khān and the bail of Randaula Khān, two leading nobles of Bijapur, and not by the intervention of the Mughal Emperor or Prince Murād—Ibid., pp. 40-1.

3. "The annexation of Jāvli not only opened to Shivāji a door for the conquest of the south and the west, but brought a very important accession to his strength, in the form of many thousands of Māvle infantrymen from among the subjects and former retainers of Chandra Rao. In short, his recruiting ground for these excellent fighters along the Sahyādri range, was now doubled. The Morés had accumulated a vast treasure in eight generations of undisturbed and expanding rule, and the whole of it fell into Shivāji's hands."—Ibid., p. 47.

a Prince in the reign of his father, brought great evil upon the country, and other troubles also arose. Shivāji day by day increased his strength, and reduced all the forts of the country, so that in course of time he became a man of power and means. . . .He built several forts also in those parts, so that altogether he had forty forts all of which were well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Boldly raising his standard of rebellion, he became the most noted rebel of the Dakhin.'[1]

Nevertheless, the same sharp critic does not fail to add, '*But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Kurān came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musulman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until the relations came with suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people,* PAUL SIYAH (*copper money*), *and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them; but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Shivāji's Government.*'[2]

(i) First Clash with the Mughals:

Shivāji for a long time kept peace with the Mughals either because he did not feel strong enough to antagonise the Empire and Bijapur at the same time, or because of the vigilance of Aurangzeb's viceroyalty of the Deccan. When, however, on the death of Muhammad Adil Shāh (4 Nov. 1656), Aurangzeb began to mobilise for an attack on Bijapur, Shivāji offered to join the Imperialists on certain terms; evidently the legalisation of his usurpations in Bijapur territory. But Aurangzeb temporized, and when the war broke out, Bijapur won over Shivāji to its own side.

In March 1657 two of Shivāji's Maratha officers raided the Mughal territory and "carried devastation and alarm to the very gates of Ahmednagar, the most notable city in Mughal Deccan,"

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 256-8.
2. Ibid., pp. 260-61.

While Shivāji himself stole into Junnar city, slaughtered the guards, and carried off 300,000 *hun*, 200 horses, besides jewellery and rich clothing. Aurangzeb sent Nasiri Khān after Shivāji ordering him to "pursue the Marathas and extirpate them." The vigorous measures that were being taken were interrupted, first by the rainy season, and then by the War of Succession occasioned by Shāh Jahān's illness in September 1657. Bijapur made peace with Aurangzeb before he left for the north, and Shivāji also followed suit. In reply to Shivāji's embassy Aurangzeb wrote diplomatically: "Though your offences do not deserve pardon, I forgive you as you have repented. You propose that if you are granted all the villages belonging to your home (i.e. Shāhji's old *jāgīr*) together with the forts and territory of Konkan, after the Imperialists have seized the old Nizām-shāhī territory now in the charge of Adil Shāh,—you will send Sona Pandit as your envoy to my Court and a contingent of 500 horse under one of your officers to serve me, and you will protect the Imperial frontiers. You are called upon to send Sonāji, and your prayers will be granted."[1] At the same time he wrote to Mīr Jumla and Adil Shāh: "Attend to it, as *the son of a dog* (meaning Shivāji) is waiting for his opportunity." Pedgaon was also fortified as a base of operations against Poona. But the Succession War of 1658-59 gave Shivāji the needed respite, so far as the Mughals were concerned. It was during this period that the tragedy of Afzul Khān, the Bijapuri general sent against Shivāji, took place at Pratāpgarh. The controversy that has raged round this incident need not distract us here.[2] Our next incident is that relating to Shayista Khān.

(ii) Shayista Khān's Offensive.

Greatly encouraged by his triumph over Afzul Khān Shivāji continued his activities on all sides. Aurangzeb after his second coronation (July 1659) had appointed his uncle Shayista Khān viceroy of the Deccan. He now directed him to punish Shivāji and put him down. '*Amīru-l umara* (Shayista Khān),' according to Khāfī Khān, 'marched, in accordance with these orders, from Aurangabad at the end of *Jumada-l awwal* 1070 (end of January, 1660 A.D.), towards Puna and Chākan, which in those days were Shivāji's places of abode and security.'[3] At the same time Siddhi

1. Pārasnis MS., Letter 5—cited by Sarkar, op. cit., p. 61.
2. See Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 93, 81.
3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 261.

Jauhar (now made Salābat Khān) launched another offensive on behalf of Bijapur from the south against Shivāji, and invested Panhāla (May, 1660). Though Jauhar proved 'both fool and traitor' in letting Shivāji escape from Panhāla, another Bijapuri force followed up and took Panhāla 'in a twinkle.' It was in the course of this flight of Shivāji from Panhāla to Viśālgarh that the brave Bāji Prabhu (*Deshpāndé* of Haridās *māval*) fought his heroic rearguard action at the Thermopylae of Mahārāshtra and died with his brave seven hundred! Where

> 'Death clamoured, and tall figures strewed the ground
> Like trees in a cyclone.'[1]

Shayista Khān, too, relentlessly pursued his campaign. But, 'the daring freebooter Shivāji ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage of *Amīru-l umara's* army wherever they met with it. When the *Amīr* was informed of this, he appointed 4000 horse, under experienced officers, to protect the baggage. But every day, and in every march, Shivāji's Dakhinis swarmed round the baggage, and falling suddenly upon it like Cossacks, they carried off horses, camels, men, and whatever they could secure, until they became aware of the approach of the troops. The Imperial forces pursued them, and harassed them, so that they lost courage, and giving up fighting for flight, they dispersed. At length they reached Puna and Shivpur, two places built by that *dog* (Shivāji). The Imperial forces took both these places and held them.'[2] The next great fortress to be captured after a great struggle was Chākan (Aug. 1660) which was of considerable strategic importance to the Mughals as covering the retreat to Ahmadnagar. Then followed desultory warfare during the years 1661-63, ending with the famous *coup* of Shivāji on Shayista Khān's camp in Poona on 5th April 1663. On this occasion, says Prof. Sarkar, "Shivāji dealt a masterly blow at the Mughals,—a blow whose cleverness of design, neatness of execution and completeness of success created in the Mughal Court and camp as much terror of his prowess and belief in his possession of magical powers, as his *coup* against Afzul Khān had done among the Bijapuris. He surprised and wounded the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan in the heart of his camp, in his very bed-

1. Aurobindo Ghose, *Bāji Prabhu.* In this ballad, however, the poet has changed the setting of the incident.
2. Khāfī Khān, E. & D., op. cit., pp. 261-2.

chamber, within the inner ring of his body-guards and female slaves."[1] The details of this incident are only of legendary interest. The curious reader may find the Muslim account in Khāfī Khān's narrative[2] and the Maratha version in the Sabhāsad or Chitnis *bakhar*.[3] But there is one aspect of it which is worthy of being pointed out here, viz., the part played by Rāja Jaswant Singh.

Cosme da Guada, a Portuguese biographer of Shivāji, who wrote his account in 1695, states :

> 'Jassomptissinga was a Gentio. Sevagy took advantage of this (fact) for he was a (Hindu) and sent him one night a rich present of precious stones, a large quantity of gold and silver with many rich and precious jewels. With these marvellous cannons Sevagy fought and reduced that fortress. The message was as follows : "Though Your Highness has the greatness of a Sovereign King and (now) also that of the General of so powerful an Emperor, if you recollect that I am a Gentio like you, and if you take account of what I have done, you will find that all I have done, was due to the zeal for the honour and worship of your gods whose temples have been destroyed everywhere by the Mouros. If the cause of religion have precedence over all the gods of the world and even over life itself, I have for the same cause risked mine so many times......I offer you in the name of the gods themselves these trifles. I do not ignore that [a person of] your high caste has, for honour and loyalty, to defend those whose salt and water you eat and drink. I know, moreover, that you hold the *jāgīr* of the Great Mogol and cannot, on that account, take the side of another, *but you may so behave that you will not fail in the loyalty professed by your illustrious family (sangue) or in the respect due to your gods that I may mix with the people of Sextaghan, to be able to do as I like (para ser senhor das accaœns), and to do to him, without the knowledge of the Mouros, what I can.*"
>
> 'Jassomptissinga was less devout and more ambitious and so did not attend to these scruples ; he was much obliged for the presents and still more for the promises for which *he confederated with Sevagy promising not to obstruct his cause and even to connive at what he might design against the Mouros.*'[4]

The European version of the Shayista Khān incident is contained in the sequel to the above passage (pages 66-70). 'When this occurrence,' says Khāfī Khān, 'was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the *Amīr* and Rāja Jaswant. The *Subadārī* of the Dakhin and the command of the forces employed

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 92.
2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 269-71.
3. Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 201-07.
4. Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivāji*, pp. 64-6. Cf. Manucci, *storia do Mogor* II, p. 104.

against Shivāji were given to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam. The *Amīru-l umara* was recalled, but a subsequent order (1st December, 1663) sent him to be *Subadār* of Bengal. Mahārāja Jaswant was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.'[1] Does this acquit Jaswant Singh?

(iii) First Sack of Surat.

During the period of the change of viceroys and commanders, Shivāji indulged in another adventure, viz., a raid on Surat, 'the greatest emporium of the Orient and the richest jewel of the Mogol.'[2] His object in doing this was, according to da Guarda, 'to plunder the riches of the wealthiest city of the east to show Sextaghan and the Mogol how little he thought of their power and army.'[3] The same writer tells us, 'some confused news of his intention reached Surrate but caused a great laughter as hundred and eight thousand cavalry were encamped in the very territories of which Sevāgy had become master.' The Maratha, however, entered like 'a furious tiger in a herd of cows.' 'There was such a confusion in the city among the Mouros, Baneanes, Guzarates, and all other Hindus as will not be easy to describe. Men, women, and children ran naked without knowing where and to whom. *But no one was in the peril of life, for it was the strict order of Sevāgy that unless resistance was offered no one should be killed, and as none resisted none perished.*[4] Sevāgy's men then entered the houses and slighting the richest silk and silver coins, took only rupees of gold, each of which was worth sixteen of silver....Neither the quantity of money he got nor the speed with which it was conveyed by 900 bullocks is credible.'[5]

M. de Thevenot observes, 'Sivāgy's Men entered the Town and plundered it for the space of four days burning several Houses. None but the English and Dutch saved their quarters from the pillage, by the vigorous defence they made, and by means of the cannon they planted, which Sivāgy would not venture upon, having none of his own.'[6]

The Mughal governor of Surat, Inayet Khān, shut himself up in the fort; and 'the governor's men continued to fire all night

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 271.
2. Cosme da Guarda in Sen, op. cit., p. 73.
3. Ibid., p. 76.
4. For contrary accounts see Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 99-110.
5. Sen, op. cit., pp. 74-6.
6. Ibid., p. 178.

long, *but more damage was done to the town than the enemy....* Everything of beauty existing in Surat was that day reduced to ashes and many considerable merchants lost all that the enemy had not plundered, through this terrible fire, narrowly escaping with their lives. Two or three Banian merchants lost several millions and the total loss was estimated at 30 millions......He (Sivāgy) and his followers appropriated only the most valuable spoils and distributed the less valuable things, which could only hamper their retreat, among the poor, whereby many acquired much more than they had lost through fire and pillage....(Sivāgy) departed at the first gleam of daylight, delighted to have plucked such a fine feather from Aurangzeb's tail ![1]

AFTER THE SACK

'The Governor of Surrate reported the above-mentioned incident to the Great Mogal in such a manner that when it was read and heard it seemed worse than it (actually) was. As the advantage, the Great Mogal derived from Surrate, was enormous, and the Governor had informed him that all was lost and the merchants were arranging for a change of place on account of the scant security of Surrate, he resolved to remedy everything by sending an army that would totally destroy Sevāgy and detain the merchants. He ordered that they should be excused duties for three years (?) during which period nothing should be paid for import or export. This appeased and relieved all, for it was a very great favour in view of the large capital employed by those Gentios in trade. The wealth of these people is so great that when the Great Mogal sent for a loan of four millions to Beneane Duracandas Vorase, he answered that His Majesty should name the Coin and the sum would immediately be paid in it. There are in Surrate the following coins; rupias, half and quarter (rupias) of gold, the same of silver. There are pagodas of gold and *larins* of silver, and in any of these eight (coins) he offered to render four millions. *What is still more surprising is that the major part of the Baneane's capital was invested at Surrate and this (offer) was (made) four years after the sack by Sevāgy.* So much had already been accumulated and so considerable had been the profit of those three years when no tax was paid. *The Mogal usually repays such loans with the taxes, and it is done with such punctuality that he gets for the mere asking whatever sums he wants, for the subjects deliver their purses in accordance with the degree of satisfaction that they get from the kings.*'[2]

In a letter to the Director of the Dutch East India Company, dated 4th August, 1664, their Governor-General states: 'King Orangech has ordered the town of Surat to be surrounded by a

1. Sen, op. cit., Francois Valentyn's account, pp. 360-62.
2. Ibid. (Cosme da Guarda), pp. 79-80.

stone wall and has granted a *year's* exemption of tolls and duties to the merchants, the Company and the English being also included. This exemption was to begin from March 16th 1663, and we calculate that the Company will then gain a sum of f. 50,000 (£4,200) so that *this catastrophe has brought us profit.*'[1]

The Governor Inayet Khān was replaced by Ghiasu-d din Khān. Shivāji had arrived in Surat at 11 a.m on Wednesday, 6th January 1664 ; he left the place at 10 a.m. on Sunday, the 10th. 'Thursday and Friday nights,' says one account, 'were the most terrible nights for fire. The fire turned the night into day, as before the smoke in the day-time had turned day into night, rising so thick that it darkened the sun like a great cloud.'

(iv) Treaty of Purandar: June, 1665.

These activities of Shivāji alarmed Aurangzeb who at once despatched abler generals to tackle with him. Khāfī Khān writes, 'Despatches arrived from Prince Muazzam to the effect that Shivāji was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jiwal, Pābal and others near Surat, and attacked the pilgrims bound to Mecca. He had built several forts by the seashore, and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse. He had also struck copper coins (*sikka-i pul*) and *huns* in the fort of Rājgarh. Mahārāja Jaswant had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail. Rāja Jai Singh (and Dilir Khān) were sent to join the armies fighting against him.'

This was indeed hard time for Shivāji, for both Jai Singh[2]

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1. The Dutch losses amounted to f. 20,000 (£1,700), Ibid., pp. 371-2.

2. "Jai Singh's career," writes Sarkar, "had been one of undimmed brilliancy, from the day when he, an orphan of twelve [now he was 60], received his first appointment in the Mughal army (1617). Since then he had fought under the imperial banner in every part of the empire, from Balkh in Central Asia to Bijapur in the Deccan, from Qandahar in the west to Mungir in the east....in diplomacy he had attained to a success surpassing even his victories in the field. Wherever there was a difficult or delicate work to be done, the Emperor had only to turn to Jai Singh. A man of infinite tact and patience, an adept in the ceremonious courtesy of the Muslims, a master of Turki and Persian, besides Urdu and the Rajput dialect, he was an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajputs and Hindustānis, that followed the crescent banner of the sovereign of Delhi......His foresight and political cunning, his smoothness of tongue and cool calculating policy, were in striking contrast with the impulsive generosity, reckless daring, blunt straight-forwardness, and impolitic chivalry which we are apt to associate with the Rajput character."—*Shivāji*, pp. 112-13.

and Dilir Khān[1] were veteran generals and had come with an iron determination to subdue him. Jai Singh organised a whirlwind campaign so as to encompass Shivāji from every possible quarter. In this he tried to secure the co-operation of Adil Shāh, the Europeans on the west-coast, the petty *rājahs* and *zamīndārs*, the Siddis, and also tried to corrupt Shivāji's supporters. The heart and centre of this mammoth design was to capture Purandar where Shivāji happened to be at this time.

'When he (Jai Singh) arrived there,' writes Cosme da Guarda, 'Even Sevāgy could not help being frightened, for besides the 400,000 cavalry, the number of men and animals that followed these (Mughal) armies, could neither be credited nor ascertained. There went with it 500 elephants, 3 million camels, 10 millions oxen of burden, men of useless service and merchants without number. The first thing that Sevāgy did was to tempt this general in the same way as he had done in the case of the other. He sent him a very large and very valuable present desiring his friendship. The Rāya refused both and ordered to inform Sevāgy that he had not come to receive presents but to subdue him, and for (his own) good he asked him to yield and avoid many deaths, or he would make him yield by force. This resolution perturbed Sevāgy.' The siege went on, and Guarda continues, 'the Rāya had brought with him a large number of heavy artillery of such a calibre that each cannon was drawn by forty yokes of oxen, but they were of no use for bombarding a fortress of this kind; for it was not a handiwork of man, but of the author of Nature (God), and (because) it also had foundations so (strongly) laid and fortified that they laughed at balls, wind and even the thunderbolts. The plain at the top, where the men communed with the stars, was more than half a league in breadth, provided with food for many years and the most copious water that, after regaling men was precipitated through the hill to fertilise the plants with which it was covered.'[2]

It was in the defence of this fort that Murār Bāji, another heroic captain of Shivāji, to be remembered with Bāji Prabhu and Tānāji Malusaré, laid down his life together with three hundred lion-hearted Māvles. The garrison, says Sarkar, "with a courage worthy of the mother of Brasidas, the Spartan, continued the strug-

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1. His proper name was Jalāl Khān Daudzai. He had served under Prince Sulaiman Shikoh during the War of Succession, and was with Mīr Jumla in the Assam campaign. He was the founder of Shāhjahānādād in Rohilkhand. He died at Aurangabad in 1682-3.

2. Sen, op. cit., pp. 82-4. The highest point of this fort is 4,564 ft. above sea-level and more than 2,500 ft. above the plain at its foot. It is really a double fort—Purandar and Vajragarh (also called Rudramāla). "It was by seizing Vajragarh that Jai Singh in 1665 and the English in 1817 made Purandhar untenable for the Marathas."—Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 124-5.

gle, undismayed by their leader's fall and saying, 'What though one man Murār Bāji is dead? We are as brave as he, and we shall fight with the same courage. (Sabhāsad, 43-44; T. S.)."[1]

But the struggle was in vain. Consequently, in the words of Khāfī Khān, Shivāji 'sent some intelligent men to Rāja Jai Singh, begging forgiveness for his offences, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held and proposing to pay a visit to the Rāja. But the Rāja knowing well his craft and falsehood, gave directions for pressing the attack more vigorously, until the intelligence was brought that Shivāji had come out of the fortress. Some confidential Brahmans now came from him and confirmed his expressions of submission and repentance with the most stringent oaths.

'The Rāja promised him security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to wait on the Emperor, and of agreeing to enter him into his service. He also promised him the grant of a high *mansab*, and made preparations for suitably receiving him. Sivāji then approached him with great humility. Rājā sent his *munshī* to receive him, and he also sent some armed Rajputs to provide against treachery. The *munshī* carried a message to say that if Shivāji submitted frankly, gave up his forts, and consented to show obedience, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the Emperor. If he did not accept these terms, he had better return and prepare to renew the war. When Sivāji received the message, he said with great humility that he knew his life and honour were safe if he made his submission. The Rāja then sent a person of higher rank to bring him in with honour.

'When Sivāji entered, the Rāja arose, embraced him, and seated him near himself. Sivāji then with a thousand signs of shame, clasped his hands and said, "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts with the country of the Konkan, to the Emperor's officers, and I will send you my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and wherever my services are required, I will, on receiving orders discharge my duty loyally." The Rāja cheered him up, and sent him to Dilir Khān.

'After direction had been given for the cessation of the siege, seven thousand persons, men, women and children, came out of the fort. All that they could not carry away became the property of the Government, and the fort was taken possession of by the forces. Dilir Khān presented Sivāji with a sword, etc. He then took him back to the Rāja, who presented him with a robe......and renewed his assurances of safety

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1. Ibid., p. 135.

and honourable treatment. Sivāji, with ready tact, bound on the sword in an instant, and promised to render faithful service. When the question about the time Sivāji was to remain under parôle, and of his return home, came under consideration, Rāja Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, asking forgiveness for Sivāji and the grant of a robe to him, and awaited instructions....A mace-bearer arrived with the *farmān* and a robe,.... and Sivāji was overjoyed at receiving forgiveness and honour.

'A decision then arose about the forts, and it was finally settled that out of the thirty-five forts which he possessed, the keys of twenty-three should be given up, with their revenues, amounting to ten *lacs* of *huns*, or forty *lacs* of rupees. Twelve small forts, with moderate revenues, were to remain in the possession of Sivāji's people. Sambha, his son, a boy of eight years old, in whose name a *mansab* of 5000 had been granted at Rāja Jai Singh's suggestion, was to proceed to Court with the Rāja, attended by a suitable retinue. Sivāji himself, with his family, was to remain in the hills, and endeavour to restore the prosperity of his ravaged country. Whenever he was summoned on Imperial service, he was to attend. On his being allowed to depart, he received a robe, horse, etc."[1]

In addition to the above terms, Shivāji further engaged : 'If lands yielding 4 *lakhs* of *hun* a year in the lowlands of Konkan and 5 *lakhs* of *hun* a year in the uplands (Bālāghāt Bijapuri), are granted to me by the Emperor and I am assured by an Imperial *farmān* that the possession of these lands will be confirmed in me after the expected Mughal conquest of Bijapur, then I agree to pay to the Emperor 40 *lakhs* of *hun* in 13 yearly instalments.'

These lands were to be wrested from Bijapur by Shivāji himself, and Sarkar observes, "Here we detect the shrewdness of Jai Singh's policy in throwing a bone of perpetual contention between Shivāji and the Sultans of Bijapur. As he wrote to the Emperor, 'This policy will result in a threefold gain : *first*, we get 40 *lakhs* of *hun* or 2 *krores* of Rupees : *secondly*, Shivāji will be alienated from Bijapur ; *thirdly*, the imperial army will be relieved from the arduous task of campaigning in these two broken and jungly regions as Shiva will himself undertake the task of expelling the Bijapuri garrisons from them.' In return for it, Shiva also agreed to assist the Mughals in the invasion of Bijapur with 2,000 cavalry of his son Shambhāji's *mansab* and 7,000 expert infantry under his own command."[2]

This splendid achievement was accomplished by Jai Singh in

1. E. &. D., op. cit., VII, pp. 272-75.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 140-41.

less than three months. In the Bijapur campaign of Jai Singh, which we have already described, Shivāji faithfully carried out his promises. Yet, distrustful of the wily Maratha chief, Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, "Now that Adil Shāh and Qutb Shāh have united in mischief, it is necessary to win Shiva's heart by all means and to *send him to Northern India* to have audience with your Majesty."[1]

(v) Shivāji's Escape from Agra.

To cut a long story short, after much diplomatic discussion and most solemn assurances on the part of Jai Singh as to his safety and honour, Shivāji set out for Agra, to the Imperial Court. His disappointment there and his romantic escape are familiar to every school-boy in India. There are several versions of the details,[2] but the following account given by Khāfī Khān ought to serve our purpose :—

'After giving Sivāji every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he (Jai Singh) made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court. News of Sivāji's arrival was brought as the festival of the accession (9th year of the reign, 1666 A. D.) was being celebrated. It was ordered that Kunwar Rām Singh, son of Rāja Jai Singh, with Mukhlis Khān, should go out to meet and conduct *that evil malicious fellow* to Agra. On the 18th *Zi-l kada*, 1076, Sivāji, and his son of nine years old, had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offering of 500 *ashrafis* and 6000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees. By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *panj-hazāri*. But his son, a boy of eight (?) years, had privately (previously ?) been made a *punj-hazāri* and Nāthuji, one of his relations, who had rendered great service to Rāja Jai Singh in his campaign against Bijapur, had been advanced to the same dignity, ***so that Sivāji had a claim to nothing less than the dignity of a hajt-hazāri*** (7,000). Rāja Jai Singh had flattered Sivāji with promises ; but as the Rāja knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Sivāji, he artfully refrained from making known the hopes he had held out. The *istikbal*, or reception of Sivāji, had not been such as he expected. He was annoyed, and so, before the robe and jewels and elephant, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented, he complained to Rām Singh that he was disappointed. The Kunwar tried to pacify him, but without effect.[3] When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with

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1. Ibid., p. 151.
2. For a special study of this subject read Deshpande, *The Deliverance or the Escape of Shivāji the Great from Agra*. (Poona, 1929).
3 .It is said that when the Emperor enquired as to what was the matter, Kunwar Rām Singh diplomatically answered, "The tiger is a wild beast of the jungle, and feels oppressed by the heat of a place like this and has taken ill !"

little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of Rāja Jai Singh, as had been arranged by Kunwar Rām Singh. A letter was sent to Rāja Jai Singh, informing him of what had passed, and Sivāji was forbidden to come to the Royal presence until the Rāja's answer and advice should arrive. His son was ordered to attend the presence in the company of Rām Singh......

'After Sivāji returned angry and disappointed from the royal presence to his house, orders were given to the *kotwāl* to place guards round it. Sivāji, reflecting upon his former deeds and his present condition, was sadly troubled by the state of his affairs. He thought of nothing else but of delivering himself by some crafty plan from his perilous position. His subtle mind was not long in contriving a scheme. From the beginning he kept up a show of friendship and intimacy with the *amīrs*, and with Kunwar Rām Singh. He sent them presents of Dakhin products, and, by expressing contrition for his past conduct, he won them over to advocate the acceptance of his shame and repentance.

'Afterwards he feigned to be ill, and groaned and sighed aloud. Complaining of pains in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed, and, as if prostrated with consumption or fever, he sought remedies from the physicians. For some time he carried on this artifice. At length he made known his recovery. He sent presents to his doctors and attendants, food to the Brāhmans, and presents of grain and money to needy Musulmans and Hindus. For this purpose he had provided large baskets covered with paper. These being filled with sweetmeats of all sorts, were sent to the houses of the *amīrs* and to the abodes of *fakirs*. Two or three swift horses were procured, and, under the pretext of being presents to Brahmans, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen *kos* from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were privy to his plans. A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the couch, and Sivāji's gold ring was placed upon his hand. He was directed to throw a fine piece of muslin over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand; and when any one came in, to feign to be asleep. Sivāji with his son, got into two baskets, and were carried out, it being pretended that the baskets contained sweetmeats intended for the *brāhmans* and *fakirs* of Mathura.'[1]

After various adventures Shivāji returned to the South via Mathura, Allahabad, Benares, and Telingana. The alarm was raised too late at Agra, and even then the Imperial sentinels were too tardy of motion.[2] 'The *kotwāl* and Kunwar Rām Singh were censured, and as Rām Singh was suspected of having prompted the

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 276-81.

2. For an interesting version of the sequel, according to Cosme da Guarda, see Sen, op. cit., pp. 135-6. Also cf. my *Maratha History Re-examined*.

evasion, he was deprived of his *mansab* and forbidden to come to Court. Orders were sent to the provincial governors, and to the officials in all directions, to search for Sivāji, and to seize him and send him to the Emperor. Rāja Jai Singh, who just at this time had retired from Bijapur, and had arrived at Aurangabād, received orders. . . . *to watch carefully for the bird escaped from the cage, and not suffer him to re-establish himself in his old haunts and to gather his followers around him.*'[1] But the old Rajput general was completely baffled ; he was recalled in May 1667, and died on the 2nd July following, at Barhānpur on his way to the capital.

The return of Prince Muazzam, as viceroy of the Deccan, together with Jaswant Singh, gave Shivāji the opportunity he needed. Though the Mughal arms were strengthened with the joining of Dilir Khān, in October 1667, Shivāji soon retrieved his lost position. The empire being threatened in the North-West at the same time (1667), and the Imperial officers in the Deccan quarrelling among themselves, a peace was patched up with the Marathas (9th March 1668) which lasted for two years. Shivāji's title of *Rājah* was recognised by the Emperor, and the English factory records of the time speak of the "great tranquillity," "Shivāji being very quiet, not offering to molest the king's country." Sambhāji was again created a *mansabdar* of 5,000, and was sent to the viceroy's Court of Aurangābād with a contingent of 1000 horse. It was during this period (1667-69) that Shivāji laid the foundations of his government, broad and deep, to the admiration of after ages.[2]

On the ostensible ground of Aurangzeb's campaign of temple destruction in 1669, Shivāji launched his offensive once again, about the close of that year or the beginning of the next. One of the great exploits of this campaign was the capture of Kondana (thenceforward called Simhagarh) by the brave Tānāji Malusaré. His exploits are still sung by rustic bards in Mahārāshtra, and one ballad reads :

'On pour the host in conquering might,
Tear down the Mogul's ensign white,
And o'er the fortress of their foes,
Their monarch's orange standard rose.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 281.
2 Sarkar, op. cit., p. 185.

And now the cannon's thunder loud
Peal'd o'er the plain the conquest proud;
Five times they spoke in flame and smoke,
And Rājghur's distant towers awoke;
Singhur is ours," proclaimed the king,
And bid ten guns his answer ring.

. . . .

And ye, Marāthas brave! give ear,
Tanaji's exploits crowd to hear.
Where from your whole dominion wide
Shall such another be supplied?'[1]

While Shivāji was thus conquering, reconquering, and consolidating, Prince Muazzam and Dilir Khān were again quarrelling and recriminating each other. In March 1670, consequently, the English factors at Surat wrote, "Shivāji marches now not [as] before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes, and is not disturbed though the Prince lies near him."[2]

(vi) Second Loot of Surat.

On 3rd October 1670 Shivāji for a second time plundered Surat. The incidents of the previous raid repeated themselves in the course of three days. Property worth about 132 *lakhs* of rupees was carried away, and Surat remained in continuous dread of the Marathas until 1679. "But the real loss of Surat," observes Sarkar, "was not to be estimated by the booty which the Marathas carried off. The trade of this, the richest port of India, was practically destroyed.... Business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this the greatest emporium of Western India."[3]

(vii) Coronation to Death of Shivāji (1674-80).

The rest of Shivāji's relations with the Mughals may be briefly enumerated. Between the years 1671-2, in addition to the recovery of most of the territory ceded by the treaty of Purandar (1665), the Marathas annexed Baglana (north of Nasik district), and the Koli country (Jawhar and Rāmnagar of Dharampur), between Surat and Thāna. In 1673 Panhāla was annexed, and Kolhapur and Poona in 1675. By this time Shivāji had also

1. Acworth, *Ballads of the Marathas*, pp. 51, 55.
2. O. C. 3415, cited by Sarkar, op. cit., p. 197.
3. Ibid., p. 203.

got himself crowned (1674) at Rāigarh, by which act he at once elevated himself from being a mere rebel or free-booter to the status of a crowned monarch. As Sarkar has well observed, "So long as he was a mere private subject, he could not, with all his power, claim the loyalty and the devotion of the people over whom he ruled. His promises could not have the sanctity and continuity of the public engagements of the head of a State. He could sign no treaty, grant no land with legal validity and an assurance of permanence. The territories conquered by his sword could not become his lawful property, however undisturbed his possession over them might be in practice. The people living under his sway or serving under his banners, could not renounce their allegiance to the former sovereign of the land, nor be sure that they were exempt from the charge of treason for their obedience to him. The permanence of his political creation required that it should be validated as the act of a sovereign."[1]

During the last six years of his life (1674-80) Shivāji's conquests were mainly confined to the lands south of the limits already named. In a history of the Mughal Empire they have a place only as the future battle-ground between the Marathas and the Mughals, as the legacy of the fight with Shivāji after the death of the great enemy of the Empire. This comprised the southern division of Shivāji's *swarājya* (consisting of the Konkan south of Bombay, Sāvant-vādi and the North Kanara coast, the Karnatak districts of Belgaum and Dharwar to Kopal west of the Tungabhadra river, and lastly portions of Mysore, Bellary, Chittur, and Arcot districts up to Vellore and Jinji); the northern division consisting of the *Dang* and Baglana, the Koli country south of Surat, Konkan north of Bombay, and the Deccan plateau of *Desh* southwards to Poona, and the Satara and Kolhapur districts.

"Outside these settled or half-settled parts of his kingdom, there was a wide and very fluctuating belt of land subject to his power but not owning his sovereignty. They were the adjacent parts of the Mughal Empire (*Mughalāi* in Marāṭhī), which formed the happy hunting-ground of his horsemen," and whence he levied *chauth*.[2]

1. Ibid., p. 239.
2. Ibid., p. 407.

3. Sambhāji: 1680-89.

Shivāji died on 4th April 1680.[1] This event followed by the escape of the rebellious Prince Akbar into the Deccan, obliged Aurangzeb to come to the South,[2] where he was destined to spend the remaining twenty-seven years of his life. Shivāji was succeeded by his reckless son Sambhāji, who though brave like his father was profligate to a degree. This prince, before his barbarous execution in 1689, followed the strategy of the great Maratha, and harried and plundered the Mughal territories in the Deccan. He also, like Shivāji, befriended the Kutb-shāhi and Adil-shāhi Sultans whenever it was convenient to co-operate with them against the Mughals.[3] Thus in 1677 the Marathas had been promised 3,000 *hun* a day or 4½ *lakhs* of rupees a month) and a contingent of 5,000 for the conquest of the Karnātak. The Kutb Shāh had also agreed to pay an annual subsidy of one *lakh* of *hun* regularly and to keep a Maratha ambassador at his Court. With this aid Shivāji had conquered, in the course of 1677-78, a territory of 40 by 60 leagues estimated to yield 20 *lakhs* of *hun* a year, and including a hundred forts. Similarly, in 1679, Shivāji had gone to the succour of helpless Bijapur and "poured like a flood through the districts of Mughal Deccan, plundering and burning in their track and taking an immense booty in cash and kind." But this was Shivāji's last campaign.

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1. He was then 50 years of age at that time. "Shivāji's real greatness," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "lay in his character and ability rather than in the originality of conception or length of political vision. Unfailing insight into the character of others, efficiency of arrangements, and instinctive perception of what was practicable and most profitable under the circumstances (*tact des choses possibles*)—these were the causes of his success in life. The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of the scattered Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people. And he achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four mighty Powers like the Mughal empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India, and the Abyssinians of Janjira.

'No other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defence; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own, and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth.' (*Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 240).

2. Aurangzeb arrived at Aurangabad on 22nd March. 1682.

3. For a fuller study of the history of Golkonda read Bendrey, *Kutb-shāhi of Golkonda in the Seventeenth Century*. (Poona, 1934.)

i. 'When Shivāji was dead,' writes Khāfī Khān, 'his wretched son Sambha desired to surpass his father. He raised the standard of rebellion, and on the 20th *Muharram*, in the twenty-third year of the reign, corresponding with 1091 A.H. (15th Feb., 1680), he attacked Karkar Khān, who acted as collector of the *zijiya* under Khān-zamān, the Subahdār of the Dakhin......he fell upon Bahadurpur, one *kos* and a half from Burhānpur. This place was rich, and there were many bankers and merchants in it. Jewels, money and goods from all parts of the world were found in vast abundance. He surrounded and attacked this place, ...and his attack was so sudden and unexpected,....that no one was able to save a *dām* or a *diram* of his property, or a single one of his wives and children ......Seventeen other places of note, such as Hasanpura, etc., in the neighbourhood of the city, all wealthy and flourishing places were plundered and burnt.'[1]

ii. When Prince Muhammad Akbar sought shelter in the Deccan (1680) he found his way to Rāhiri (Rāigarh), the capital of Sambhāji. 'This chieftain,' says Khāfī Khān, 'came to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *kos* from the fort of Rāhiri, and fixed an allowance for his support.'[2] This, as we have seen already, drew down the might of the Empire upon him, and Akbar finally escaped to Persia.

iii. In the final campaign of Aurangzeb against Golkonda (1685-6), readers will remember that, among the Imperial charges against Abul Hasan, it was also stated : 'moreover it had lately become known that a *lac* of *pagodas* had been sent to the wicked Sambha.'

iv. All these were sufficient grievances for Aurangzeb to organise his forces to crush Sambhāji. So, 'Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh was sent in the 34th year of the reign, 1101 A.H.[3] and some experienced *amīrs* to punish the infidels about Bahādurgarh and Gulshanābād. Firoz Jang, with another army, was sent to reduce the forts in the neighbourhood of Rājgarh. Mukarrab Khān, otherwise called Shaikh Nizām Haidarābādi was sent against the infidel Sambha. Each of them endeavoured to distinguish himself in the performance of the service on which he had been sent. Mukarrab Khān distinguished above all the nobles of the Dakhin for his military knowledge and enterprise. He laid siege to the fort of Parnāla, near Kolhāpur, and sent out his spies in all directions to gather intelligence, and especially to get information about Sambha, *who in his vile and evil course of life was ten times worse than his father Sivāji*....

'This ill-bred fellow left his old home at Rāhiri, and went to the fort of Khelna. After satisfying himself of the state of its stores, and the settlement of the country round, under the guidance of adverse fortune, which kept him ignorant of the approach of the Imperial forces,

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1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 306.
2. Ibid., p. 309.
3. The Mughal offensive was opened at the end of the rainy season, about the middle of September 1683. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 302).

he went to bathe in the waters of the Ban-Ganga, on the borders of the district of Sangamnir (Sangameshwar in the Ghats), one day's journey from the sea-shore. The place was situated in a valley, surrounded by high mountains of difficult passage. Here Kabkalas (Kalusha, Kavikulesh, or Kavikalas, a Kanauji boon companion of Sambhāji), the filthy dog had built a house, embellished with paintings and surrounded with a garden full of fruit trees and flowers. Sambha, with Kabkalas, and his wives, and his son Sāhu, went there, accompanied by a force of two or three thousand horse, *entirely unaware of the approach of the falcon of destiny*.' So writes Khāfī Khān.

'After bathing, he lingered there, viewing the lofty hills, the arduous roads full of ascents and descents, and the thick woods of thorny trees. *Unlike his father he was addicted to wine, and fond of the society of handsome women, and gave himself up to pleasure.* Messengers brought him intelligence of the active movements of Mukarrab Khān; but he was absorbed in the pleasures which bring so many men of might to their ruin......' The other details need not be followed. Sambhāji and all his friends and family were taken prisoner to the Emperor. The degree of rejoicing that accompanied this event may be fairly taken as the measure of the Imperial satisfaction at the triumphant termination of Aurangzeb's long drawn out struggle with Shivāji and his son.

'It is said that during the four or five days when Mukarrab Khān was known to be coming with his prisoners, the rejoicings were so great among all classes, from chaste matrons to miserable men, that they could not sleep at night, and they went out two *kos* to meet the prisoners, and gave expression to their satisfaction. In every town and village on the road or near it wherever the news reached, there was great delight; and wherever they passed, the doors and roofs were full of men and women, who looked on rejoicing ....(So says the Imperial historian).[1]

'After they had been sent to their places of confinement, some of the councillors of the state advised that their lives should be spared, and that they should be kept in perpetual confinement, on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortresses held by Sambha......the Emperor was in favour of seizing the opportunity of getting rid of these prime movers of the strife, and hoped that with a little exertion their fortresses would be reduced. He therefore rejected the advice, and would not consent to spare them on condition of receiving the keys of the fortresses. He gave orders that the tongues of both should be torn out. Then, with ten or eleven other persons, they were to be put to death with a variety of tortures, and lastly he ordered that the skins of the heads of Sambha

1. Mukarrab Khān was well rewarded for this 'splendid and unparalleled success....He granted to him an increase of 1000 horse, gave him the title of Khān Zamān Fath-Jang, a present of 50,000 rupees, and of a horse, elephant, etc., etc. His son, Ikhlas Khān, who held a *mansab* of 4000 personal and 4000 horse, had it increased a thousand, and received the title of Khān-i Alam. His four or five sons and nephews also received titles and marks of favour.' (Khāfī Khān—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 342).

and Kabkalas should be stuffed with straw, and exposed in all the cities and towns of the Dakhin, with beat of drum and sound of trumpet. Such is the retribution for rebellious, violent, oppressive evil-doers (so says Khāfī Khān).[1]

'Sāhu, the son of Sambha, a boy of seven years of age, was spared, and orders were given for his being kept within the limits of the palace. Suitable teachers were appointed to educate him, and a *mansab* of 7000 was granted to him. . . .Some women, including the mother and daughters of Sambha, were sent to the fortress of Daulatābād.'[2]

4. Rājārām : 1689-1700.

Sambhāji's tragedy was the outcome of his own impolicy and ineptitude. As Sarkar has well observed, "While Aurangzib was directing the full strength of his empire against Bijapur and Golkonda, Shambhuji made no adequate effort to meet the danger that threatened all the Deccani Powers alike. His soldiers plundered places in the Mughal territory as a matter of routine, but these raids did not influence the military situation. Aurangzib disregarded such pin-pricks. The Maratha king was not wise enough to follow any large and well-thought-out plan for diverting the Mughals from the sieges of Bijapur (1686) and Golkonda (1687) and averting their fall ; his Government was also hopelessly weakened by rebellions among his vassals and plots among his courtiers."[3]

The weakness of hereditary monarchy, in an unsettled country with no defined principles of succession, had been demonstrated in Mahārāshtra as well, immediately after Shivāji's death. Rājārām, a lad of ten years (the younger son of Shivāji by another wife), had been preferred by some of the nobility to his profligate elder step-brother Sambhāji. But within a short time Sambhāji came into his own, with the results we have witnessed. Aurangzeb found hardly any respite even after the execution of Sambhāji. Rājārām immediately stepped into the shoes of his deceased step-brother. 'Messengers now brought to the knowledge of the Emperor,' writes Khāfī Khān, 'that the forces of Rām Rāja (as he calls Rājārām) had marched in various directions to ravage the territories and reduce the forts belonging to the Imperial throne.'[4]

1. This tragedy was enacted at Koregaon, on the banks of the Bhīma, 12 miles N. E. of Poona, on 11th March, 1689.
2. Ibid., pp. 337-42.
3. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 307.
4. E. & D., op. cit., p. 346.

The wearisome campaigning of the next ten years may be only very briefly told here. "The years 1688 and 1689 were a period of unbroken triumph to the Emperor. His armies took possession of the forts and provinces of the annexed kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, e.g., Sāgar (the Berad capital), Raichur and Adoni (in the east), Sera and Bangalore (in Mysore), Wandewash and Conjeveram (in the Madras Karnatak), Bankāpur and Belgaum (in the extreme south west), besides Rāigarh (the capital) and many other Maratha forts. In Northern India, too, signal success attended his arms: the Jat rising under Rājārām was put down and that leader was slain (on 4th July, 1688)."[1]

The Marathas were past-masters in tactics. Rājārām under the advice of his minister (*Amātya*) Rāmachandra Nilkantha Bāvdekar, escaped to Jinji in order to divide the Imperial forces by creating a diversion in the eastern Karnātak. In the Maratha dominions nearer home the *Amātya* himself was appointed Dictator (*Hakhmatpanah*) with his headquarters at Vishālgarh. Between these two fronts the Mughal forces were frittered away. "The difficulties of Aurangzib," observes Sarkar, "were only multiplied by the disappearance of a common head and a central government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his own retainers fought and raided in a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aurangzib could not end it, because there was no Maratha government or State army for him to attack and destroy."[2] "It was no longer a simple military problem, but had become a trial of endurance and resources between the Mughal empire and the indigenous people of the Deccan."[3]

(i) The first reverse of the Imperialist came in May 1690 when the Mughal general Rustam Khān was captured and his camp looted by the Marathas. This was the achievement of the Maratha general Santāji Ghorpadé

'Every one who encountered him,' says Khāfī Khān, 'was either killed or wounded and made prisoner; or if any one did escape, it was with his mere life, with the loss of his army and baggage. Nothing could be done, for wherever *the accursed dog* went and threatened an attack, there was no Imperial *amīr* bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made boldest warriors quake. Ismail

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 315.
2. Ibid., p. 316.
3. Ibid., p. 326.

Khān was accounted one of the bravest and most skilful warriors of the Dakhin, but he was defeated in the first action, his army was plundered, and he himself was wounded and made prisoner. After some months he obtained his release, on the payment of a large sum of money. So also Rustam Khān, otherwise called Sharza Khān, the *Rustam* of the time and as brave as lion, was defeated by him in the district of Sātāra, and after losing his baggage and all that he had with him, he was taken prisoner, and had to pay a large sum for his ransom. Ali Mardān Khān, otherwise called Husaini Beg Haidarābādi, ...was defeated and made prisoner with several others. After detention of some days, they obtained their release on paying a ransom of two *lacs* of rupees.'[1]

(ii) In 1691 the Mughal position at Jinji became very critical. Next year matters were made worse by the negotiations of Prince Kām Bakhsh with the enemy ; so he was arrested by his colleagues (Dec. 1692 to Jan. 1693). Between 1691-96, the activities of Pidia Nāyak, the Berad chief, harassed the Imperial arms in the strategically important tract between Bidar and Bijapur and from Raichur to Malkhed.

(iii) "At last, by April 1695 Aurangzeb came to realize that he had really gained nothing by the conquest of the Adil-shāhī and Qutb-shāhī capitals and the extinction of their royal lines. He now perceived that the Maratha problem was no longer what it had been in Shivāji's time, or even in Shambhuji's. They were no longer a tribe of banditti or local rebels, but *the one dominating factor of Deccan politics*, the only enemy left to the empire, and yet an enemy all-pervasive from Bombay to Madras across the Indian peninsula, elusive as the wind, without any headman or stronghold whose capture would naturally result in the extinction of their power."[2] Giving up all hopes, therefore, of being able to return to the North, Aurangzeb in May 1695 sent his eldest surviving son, Shāh Alam, to govern and guard the north-west (Punjab, Sindh, and then Afghanistan). For the next 4½ years he settled down at Islāmpuri (Bahādurgarh) to conduct the operations. The chief incidents of this period were the destruction of two Mughal generals, Kāsim Khān (Nov. 1695) and Himmat Khān (Jan. 1696), the murder of Santāji Ghorpadé in a domestic feud, and the return of Rājārām as a result of the fall of Jinji in January 1698.

The circumstances attending on the defeat of Kāsim Khān are thus detailed by Khāfī Khān :

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 347.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 317.

'In fine, for a month they were besieged within the four walls (of Danderi), and, every day affairs grew worse with them. They were compelled to kill and eat their baggage and riding horses, which were themselves nearly starved. For all the greatest care and economy, the stores of grain in the fort were exhausted.......To escape from starvation many men threw themselves from the walls and trusted to the enemy' mercy....People brought fruit and sweet-meats from the enemy's *bazār* to the foot of the walls, and sold them at extravagant prices...... Reverses, disease, deficiency of water and want of grain, reduced the garrison to the verge of death. Kāsim Khān, according to report, poisoned himself, or died from want of the usual portion of opium, for he was overcome with disappointment and rage.

'Ruhu-llah Khān and the other officers were compelled to make overtures for a capitulation....Some officers went out to settle the terms of the ransom. Santā said, "Besides the elephants and horses, and money and property, which you have with you, I will not take less than a *lac* of *huns*," equivalent to three *lacs* and 50,000 rupees. A Dakhini officer said, "What are you thinking of! this a mere trifle. This is a ransom which I would fix for Ruhu-llah Khān, alone." Finally, seven *lacs* of rupees was settled as the ransom, the payment of which was to be distributed among the officers. Each one's share was settled, and he made an engagement to pay as ransom, and to leave a relation or officer of rank with Santā as bail for payment. Santā's officers sat down at the gate of the fort, and allowed each officer to take his horse and his personal clothing, the others were allowed to carry out as much as they could bear in their arms. Everything else, money and jewels, horses and elephants, etc., were confiscated by Santā....*The Government and personal property lost during this war and siege exceeded fifty or sixty lacs of rupees.*"[1]

iv. With the flight of Rājārām from Jinji began the last phase of Aurangzeb's war in the Deccan. "The rest of his life (1699-1707) is a repetition of the same sickening tale: a hill-fort captured by him after a vast expenditure of time, men and money, the fort recovered by the Marathas from the weak Mughal garrison after a few months, and its siege begun again by the Mughals a year or two later! His soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardships, in marching over flooded rivers,[2] muddy road, and broken

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 356-7.

2. Here is a description of one such flood, given by Khāfī Khān: 'In the month of *Muharram* of this year (1695-6), the river Bharana (Bhīma) near which the royal camp was pitched, rose to a great height, and overflowed, causing enormous destruction. The *amīrs* had built many houses there. The waters began to overflow at midnight, when all the world was asleep.... The floods carried off about ten or twelve thousand men, with the establishments of the king, and the princes and the *amīrs*; horses, bullocks and cattle in countless numbers, tents and furniture be-

hilly tracts ; porters disappeared ; transport beasts died of hunger and overwork ; scarcity of grain was ever present in his camp. His officers wearied of this labour of Sisyphus ; but Aurangzib would burst into wrath at any suggestion of return to Northern India and taunt the unlucky counsellor with cowardice and love of ease. The mutual jealousies of his generals ruined his affairs as completely as the French cause in the Peninsular War was ruined by the jealousies of Napoleon's marshals. Therefore, the Emperor must conduct every operation in person, or nothing would be done. The siege of eight forts—Sātāra, Pārli, Panhāla, Khelna (Vishālgarh), Kondana (Simgarh), Rājgarh, Torna and Wāgingera,—occupied him for five years and a half. (1699-1705)."[1]

v. The fact that, with the exception of Torna, all other forts yielded to the golden key of bribery, throws a lurid light on the extent of demoralisation that had come over the successors of Bāji Prabhu or Tānāji. Out of this welter we might choose for description only the siege of Sātāra which is reminiscent of the siege of Chitor by Akbar, in its strenuous effort and appalling toll of destruction.

'At the end of *Jumada-s sani* (Dec. 1699) the royal army arrived opposite Sātāra, and the camp was pitched at a distance of a *kos* and a half. Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh encamped on another side, and the *amīrs* and officers were posted according to the judgment of Tarbiyat Khān. They all vied with each other in throwing up lines, digging mines, and carrying on other siege operations......On both sides a heavy fire was kept up,.......and the garrison rolled down great stones, which came bounding down and crushed many men and animals. The rain obstructed the arrival of corn ; the enemy were very daring in attacking the convoys, and the country for twenty *kos* round the fortress had been burnt, so that grain and hay become very scarce and dear. A battery twenty-four yards (*dar'a*) high was thrown up in face of the hill, and on the Prince's side also the batteries were carried to the foot of the hill. A hundred and sixty thousand rupees were paid for the services of the troops and *māwalis* of that country, who are very efficient in sieges....Matters went hard with the garrison, and the chance of firing a gun or a musket was no longer in their power ; all that they could do was to roll down stones from the walls......

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yond all count. Numberless houses were destroyed, and some were so completely carried away that not a trace of them was left. Great fear fell on all the army....*The King wrote out prayers with his own hand, and ordered them to be thrown into the water, for the purpose of causing it to subside!*"—(Ibid., p. 361).

1. Sarkar, op. cit., 319.

'Stone-masons were employed by the besiegers to cut two vaults in the side of the rock four yards broad and ten yards long, which were to be used as stations for sentinels. But when they were found not to answer for this purpose, they were filled with powder......On the morning of the 5th *Zi-l kada* in the fourth month of the siege, one of these was fired. The rock and the wall above it were blown into the air and fell inside the fortress. Many of the garrison were blown up and burnt. The besiegers, on beholding this, pushed boldly forward. All that time the second mine was fired. A portion of the rock above was blown up, but instead of falling into the fortress, as was expected, it came down upon the heads of besiegers like a mountain of destruction, and several thousands were buried under it.....The garrison then set about repairing the walls, and they again opened fire and rolled down the life-destroying stones.

'When Aurangzeb was informed of the disaster, and of the despondency of his men, he mounted his horse, and went to the scene of action as if in search of death. He gave orders that the bodies of the dead should be piled upon each other, and made to serve as shields against the arrows of calamities; then with the ladder of resolution, and the scaling-ropes of boldness, the men should rush to the assault. When he perceived that his words made no impression on the men, he was desirous to lead the way himself, accompanied by Muhammad Azam Shāh. But the nobles objected to this rash proposition.

'An extraordinary incident now occurred. A great number of Hindu infantry soldiers had been killed all at once (in the explosion), and their friends were unable to send and bring out their bodies. The violence of the shock had entirely disfigured them, and it was not possible to distinguish between Musulman and Hindu, friend and stranger. The flames of animosity burst forth among all the gunners against the commander of the artillery. So at night they secretly set fire to the defences (*marhala*), which had been raised at great trouble and expense against the fire from above, in the hope and with the design that the fire might reach the corpses of the slaughtered Hindus. A great conflagration followed, and for the space of a week served as a bright lamp both for besiegers and besieged. A number of Hindus and Musulmans who were alive in the huts were unable to escape, and were burnt, the living with the dead.'[1]

Rājārām, who since his return from Jinji had occupied himself with inspecting his forts in Konkan and forming plans of extensive raids in Khāndesh and Berar, died at Simhgarh on 2nd March, 1700. He had left Sātārā on 26th October 1699, in order to escape falling into the hands of the enemy. The news of his death disheartened the besieged at Sātārā and led to the capitulation of that fortress in April 1700.

1. E. &. D., op. cit., VII, pp. 364-66.

5. Last Phase: 1700-1707. The nature of the struggle after the death of Rājārām is thus depicted by Khāfī Khān:—

'When Rām Rāja died, leaving only widows and infants, men thought that the power of the Marathas over the Dakhin was at an end. But Tārā Bāi, the elder wife (of Rājārām), made her son[1] of three years old successor of his father, and took the reins of government into her own hands.[2] She took vigorous measures for ravaging the Imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six *subas* of the Dakhin as far as Sironj, Mandisor, and the *suba* of Malwa. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign, the power of the Marathas increased day by day. By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasures accumulated by Shāh Jahān, and by sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home; still the daring of the Marathas increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went. In imitation of the Emperor, who with his armies and enterprising *amīrs* was staying in those distant mountains, the commanders of Tārā Bāi cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed *kamaishdārs* (revenue collectors), they passed the years and months to their satisfaction with their wives and children, tents and elephants. Their daring went beyond all bounds. They divided all the districts (*parganas*) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their *subādārs* (provincial governors), *kamaishdārs* (revenue collectors), and *rahdārs* (toll-collectors).......... They attacked and destroyed the country as far as the borders of Ahmadabad and the districts of Malwa, and spread their devastations through the provinces of the Dekhin to the environs of Ujjain. They fell upon and plundered large caravans within ten or twelve *kos* of the Imperial camp, and even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure.' Khāfī Khān winds up by saying, 'It would be a troublesome and useless task to commit to writing all their misdeeds: but it must suffice to record some few of the events which occurred in those days of sieges, *which, after all, had no effect in suppressing the daring of the Marathas.*'[3]

There was corruption in both the camps, as well as feuds and defections among important officers. But this weakness was more than counterbalanced by the determination of Aurangzeb on the one hand, and the intrepid leadership of Tārā Bāi on the other. For

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1. This was Shivāji III. He had been preceded by Karna, a natural son of Rājārām, who had been crowned by the ministers as Shivāji II; but he died of small-pox in three weeks' time.

2. Elsewhere the same writer speaks of Tārā Bāi as a clever and intelligent woman, who had obtained a reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters—Ibid., p. 367.

3. Ibid., pp. 373-75.

a time the Emperor tried to make political capital out of Shāhu (Sambhāji's eldest son) who was in the Imperial camp ever since the capture and execution of his father; but this proved of no avail. As Bhīmsen puts it, "As the Marathas had not been vanquished and the entire Deccan had come into their possession like a deliciously cooked pudding, why should they make peace?.... The envoys of the Prince returned in disappointment, and Rāja Sāhū was again placed under surveillance in the *gulal bar*."[1]

So the laborious and endless task of capturing individual fortresses was continued. After Sātārā (1700) came Pārli (1701), Panhāla (1701), Khelna (1701), Kondāna (1703), Rāigarh (1703) and Torna (1704),—all excepting the last being taken, not so much by assault, as by what Khāfī Khān calls 'negotiations with the commandants and promises of material advancement.'[2] The last expedition ever led by Aurangzeb in person was against the Berad[3] chief Pidiya Nāik. He proved the last political straw that broke the Imperial camel's back. The capture of Wāgingera, in April 1705, was a pyrrhic victory for Aurangzeb. "Wāgingera was captured, but its chieftain had escaped and lived to give trouble to the victors. Thus, all Aurangzeb's labours for these three months were lost."

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 358.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 377.

3. This is evidently a mistake for *Bedaru* or hunters. Sarkar uses the form as used in the text, I do not know for what reasons. The Persians used it as *be-dar*, i.e. fearless.' Khāfī Khān says, of their chief Parya Naik, as he calls him, 'Having taken up his residence at Wakinkera, he showed no signs of moving, but set about strengthening and adding to the defences, and laying in warlike stores. Favoured by fortune, he in time collected nearly 14 or 15 thousand infantry of vigour and audacity. He made his hill a strong fortress, and, collecting in a short time 4 or 5 thousand horse, he ravaged flourishing places far and near, and plundered caravans. Whenever an army was sent against him, the strong force which he had collected around him, the strength of his retreat, the influence of money spent in bribery, a practice which he well understood, his knowledge of *darbār* proceedings, and his own audacity, carried him through; and bags of money and a variety of presents covered all discrepancies in his statements. In his letters he made all sorts of artful excuses, and represented himself as one of the most obedient of *Zamīndār* and punctual of revenue-payers. Every month and year he exerted himself in increasing his buildings, strengthening his powers and walls, in gathering forces, and acquiring guns, great and small. At last his place became well known as the fort of Wakinkara, and he became a fast ally of the Marathas, the disturbers of the Dakhin.'—Ibid., p. 378.

DESOLATION AND DEATH

The ultimate result of Aurangzeb's nearly quarter century of campaigning in the Deccan is thus described by Manucci, a contemporary European observer : 'Aurangzeb withdrew to Ahmednagar leaving behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their place being taken by the bones of men and beasts. Instead of verdure all is blank and barren. There have died in his armies over a hundred souls yearly, and of animals, pack-oxen, camels, elephants, etc., over three hundred thousand........In the Deccan provinces, from 1702 to 1704, plague[1] [and famine] prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions of souls."[2] The retreat of Aurangzeb to Ahmednagar brought no rest to his army or peace to his Empire. In April or May 1706 a great Maratha army under all its leaders appeared within four miles of his camp, and they were repulsed only after a very severe contest.

In the twinkle, in a minute, in a breath, the condition of the world changes.

The last moment of Aurangzeb's life came on the morning of Friday, 20th February 1707. The events leading up to it are thus described by Khāfī Khān :—

In April 1705, 'The Emperor was seized with illness, and had severe pains in his limbs, which caused grave apprehension. But he exerted himself, took his seat in the public hall, and engaged in business, thus giving consolation to the people. But his illness increased, he had fainting fits and lost his senses so that very alarming reports spread abroad, and for ten or twelve days the army and camp were in great distress. But by the mercy of God he grew better, and occasionally showed himself

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1. Here is Khāfī Khān's account of the plague.

'The plague (*tâ-ún*) and pestilence (*wabâ*), which had for several years been in the Dakhin as far as port of Surat and the city of Ahmedabad, now broke out with violence in Bijapur, and in royal camp. It was so virulent that when an individual was attacked with it, he gave up all hope, and thought only about his nursing and mourning. The black-pated guest-slayer of the sky sought to pick out the seed of the human race from the field of the world, and the cold blast of destruction tried to cut down the tree of life from the surface of the world. The visible marks of the plague were swellings as big as a grape or banana under the arms, behind the ears, and in the groin, and a redness was perceptible round the pupils of the eyes, as in fever or pestilence (*wabâ*). It was the business of heirs to provide for the interment of the dead, but thousands of obscure and friendless persons of no property died in the towns and markets, and very few of them had the means of burial ....It began in the 27th year of the reign and lasted for seven or eight years.'—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 337.

2. Sarkar, op. cit., 375-6.

to the people in the public hall. The army was in the enemy's country, without house or home; and if the sad calamity (of the Emperor's death) were to happen, not one soul would escape from that land of mountains and raging infidels.' After his recovery he proceeded to Ahmednagar (20th Jan. 1706). 'Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh was in the province of Ahmedabad. When he heard of his father's illness, he wrote for leave to visit his father, stating as an excuse that the climate of Ahmedabad was very unfavourable to him. This displeased the Emperor, who replied that he had written a letter of exactly the same effect to his father Shāh Jahān when he was ill, and that he was told in answer, that every air (*hawā*) was suitable to a man except the fumes (*huwā*) of ambition. But the Prince wrote repeatedly to the same effect, and was then appointed to the *subā* of Malwa. He did not, however, go to Ujjain, but wrote for leave to visit his father. A grudging permission was given, and the Prince made the best of his way, so that he arrived at the end of the month. The *subā* of Ahmedabad, which was taken from him, was given to Muhammad Ibrahim Khān.......

'When Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh reached his father's Court, his confidence in his own courage and boldness, and his pride in the army and treasure he had got together a tAhmedabad, made him aspire to the royal state and treasure. He thought nothing about his elder brother, but considered himself the chief in every way. Prince Muhammad Khān Bakhsh he looked upon as removed from rivalry by incompetence. But he had observed the altered temper of his father, whose feelings were not always in their natural state. His first thoughts fell upon Prince Muhammad Azim (Azimu-sh Shān, son of Muazzam), who was at Azimābad or Patna, in Bihar, where he had been sometime *Subādār*, and had obtained a repute for amassing treasures. Therefore he wished to remove him by getting him recalled to Court; and by various representations, same false, some true, he so worked upon the mind of the Emperor, that orders were issued for his recall,....and the Prince proceeded to wait upon his grand-father.

'Confirmation was received, through the Governor of Multan, of the death of Prince Muhammad Akbar, in Garmsir, the report of which had been current for a year past....

'Prince Azam Shāh....now sought a pretext for a quarrel with Prince Kām Bakhsh. The Emperor slightly improved in health; but although for some days he went into the public hall of audience and the Court of Justice, he was very weak, and death was clearly marked on his face. Prince Azam's feelings towards Prince Kām Bakhsh, who was a poet and learned man, now displayed themselves in various slights and improper actions whenever an opportunity offered. Kām Bakhsh was dear to his father, for it often happens that men have the greatest affection for their youngest sons. So the Emperor appointed a nobleman to act as the *bakhshi* of Kām Bakhsh, and to him he entrusted the Prince, with instructions to take care of him....

'The foresight of the Emperor told him that his health was failing, and he saw that Prince (Azam's) pretensions increased daily. He knew that if two unchained lions were left together, after his decease there would be divisions in the army, and great disturbances among the people. His affection for Kām Bakhsh also worked upon him. He sent Kām Bakhsh with all the signs and honours of royalty to Bijapur, and the drums of the royal *naubat-khāna* were ordered to play as he departed. The sight of all this made Prince Azam writhe like a poisonous serpent, but he could not say a word. In two or three days he also received orders to proceed to Malwa in charge of strict officers.

'After the departure of the two Princes, the Emperor grew much worse, and fever increased. But for the next four or five days, notwithstanding the severity of the disease, he attended carefully to the regular prayers. In this state of things Hamīdu-d din Khān presented a letter containing the advice of astrologers, recommending the giving away of an elephant and a valuable diamond in charity. To that the Emperor wrote in reply, the giving away of an elephant was the practice of the Hindus and of star-worshippers; but he sent four thousand rupees to the chief *kāzī*, for him to distribute among the deserving. In the same letter he wrote, saying, "*Carry this creature of dust quickly to the first (burial) place and consign him to the earth without any useless coffin.*" It is said that he wrote a will dividing his kingdom among his sons, and entrusted it to Hamīdu-d din Khān.[1]

"On Friday, the 28th *Zi-l ka'da*, in the fifty-first year of the reign, corresponding with 1118 A.H. (February 21, 1707 A.D.), after performing morning prayers and repeating the creed, at about one watch of the day, the Emperor departed this life. He was ninety years and some months old, and had reigned fifty years, two months and a half. He was buried near Daulatabad (at Khuldābād) by the tombs of Shaikh Burhān-d din and other religious worthies, and of Shāh Zari Zar-bakhsh, and some districts of Burhānpur were assigned for the maintenance of his tomb.'

Finally, Khāfī Khān winds up with the following estimate of the Emperor :—

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1. A translation of this alleged will as given in the *Ākham-i-'Alamgīrī* ascribed to Hamīdu-d din Khān Bahādur, is given by Sarkar. The following extracts from it may be noted :—'Four Rupees and two annas, out of the price of the caps sewn by me, are with Aia Beg, the *mahaldār*. Take the amount and spend it on the shroud of this helpless creature. Three hundred and five Rupees, from the wages of copying the Qurān, are in my purse for personal expenses. Distribute them to the faqirs on the day of my death......Take the remaining necessary articles from the agent of Prince Alijah (Azam), as he is the nearest heir among my sons, and on him lies the responsibility of the lawful or unlawful [practices of my funeral]; this helpless person (i.e. Aurangzeb) is not answerable for them, because the dead are at the mercy of the survivors.... Cover the top of the coffin on my bier with the coarse white cloth called *gāzī*. Avoid the spreading of a canopy and innovations like [processions of] musicians and the celebration of the Prophet's Nativity (*Mauled*).'

The following (India Office Library MS. 1344, f. 49b.), said to have been written with his own hand by Aurangzeb and left under his pillow on his death-bed, is also given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar :—

'I was helpless [in life] and I am departing helpless. Whichever of my sons has the good fortune of gaining the kingship, he should not trouble Kām Bakhsh, if the latter is constant with the two provinces of Bijapur and Haidarabad. There is not, nor will there [ever] be any wazir better than Azad Khān. Dianat Khān, the diwan of the Deccan, is better than other imperial servants. With true devotion entreat Muhammad Azam Shāh—if he agrees to the mode of partitioning the empire which was proposed in my lifetime, then there will be no fighting between armies and no slaughter of mankind. Do not dismiss my hereditary servants, nor molest them. The occupant of the throne should have [one of] the two subahs of Agra and Delhi, and whoever agrees to take the former [of these] will get four subahs of the old kingdom—Agra [*sic*], Malva, Gujarat, and Ajmir and the *chaklas* dependent on them,—and four subahs of the Deccan, namely, Khāndesh, Berar, Aurangabad, and Bidar and their ports. And whosoever agrees to take the latter [i.e. Delhi] will get the eleven subahs of the old Kingdom—Delhi, Punjab, Kabul, Multan, Tatta, Kashmir, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Allahabad and Oudh." [Another version is given in Fraser's *Nādir Shāh*, 36-37. See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, i. 6]—Ibid., pp. 387-90.

Of all the sovereigns of the House of Tīmur—nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long suffering, and sound judgment he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good ; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its object. Although he lived for ninety years, his five senses were not at all impaired, except his hearing, and that too only so slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others. He often passed his nights in vigils and devotion, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity.'[1] So passed away Aurangzeb whom Sarkar calls "the greatest of the Great Mughals save one."[2]

The last years of the Emperor were crowded with bereavements. "His domestic life," observes Sarkar, "was darkened, as bereave-

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 382-87.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 384.

ments thickened round his closing eyes. His best-loved daughter-in-law, Jahanzeb Banu, died in Gujarat in March 1705. His rebel son Akbar had died in exile in a foreign soil in 1704. Still earlier his gifted daughter, the poetess Zeb-un-nisa, had ended her days in the prison of Delhi (1702). And now Gauhar-ara Begum, the sole survivor among his numerous brothers and sisters, died in 1706, and the news of it dragged out of his heart the pathetic cry, which he repeated again and again, 'She and I alone were left among Shāh Jahān's children!' In May 1706, his daughter Mihr-un-nisa and her husband Izid Bakhsh (Murād's son) both died together in Delhi, and next month Buland Akhtar, the son of Akbar. Two of his grand-children died shortly before his own death (1707), but his ministers mercifully withheld the news from the sinking man."[1]

The pathos of this double tragedy, domestic and political, rings through Aurangzeb's last letters written to his sons. One may be quoted *in extenso* as a sample of the rest.

LAST LETTER TO AZAM

'Peace be on you!

'Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong; strength has left my limbs. I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry.

'Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not; no trace is left of the days that are no more; and of the future there is no hope.

'My fever has departed, leaving only the skin and husks behind it. My son Kām Bakhsh, who has gone to Bijapur, is near me. And you are nearer even than he. Dear Shāh Alam is farthest of all. Grandson Muhammad Azim has, by order of the Great God, arrived near Hindustan (from Bengal).

'All the soldiers are feeling helpless, bewildered, and perturbed like me, who having chosen to leave my Master, am now in a state of trepidation like quicksilver. They think not that we have our

1. Ibid., p. 381.

Lord Father (ever with us). I brought nothing with me (into the world), and am carrying away with me the fruits of my sins. I know not what punishment will fall on me. Though I have strong hopes of His grace and kindness, yet in view of my acts anxiety does not leave me. When I am parting from my own self, who else would remain to me? (Verse)

Whatever the wind may be,
I am launching my boat on the water.

'Though the Lord Cherisher will preserve His slaves, yet from the point of view of the outer world, it is also the duty of my sons to see that God's creatures and Muslims may not be unjustly slain.

'Convey to my grandson Bahādur (i.e. Bidar Bakht) my parting blessing. At the time of going away I do not see him; the desire of meeting remains (unsatisfied). Though the Begam is, as can be seen, afflicted with grief, yet God is the master of our hearts. Shortness of sight bears no other fruit than disappointment.

'Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!'[1]

IV. AURANGZEB AND THE EUROPEANS

Aurangzeb's relations with the Europeans, except when they were piratical or otherwise recalcitrant, were on the whole friendly. Though the days of active patronage of the Christians were over, they did not suffer as might have been expected under Aurangzeb's pontifical regime. Being strong where the Empire was weak, namely at sea, they were distinctly in a diplomatically advantageous position. Besides this, on the west coast, they could and did play a double game as between the Mughals and the Marathas; they tried to bargain with both. As artillerymen their services were greatly appreciated in that military age. Their contribution to the revenues of the Empire, by way of customs, was not negligible. If not kept friendly they were a source of great irritation and danger to the pilgrim and other traffic at the ports and in the sea. The principal nationals concerned in this were the Portuguese and the English; the Dutch and the French played only a secondary rôle, at least in their direct relations with the Empire.

A. The Portuguese.

Khāfī Khān gives the following account of the Portuguese in the time of Aurangzeb:—

'The officers of the King of Portugal occupied several neighbouring

1. Sarkar's translation from Br. Museum Addl. 26240.—Ibid., p. 385.

ports, and had erected forts in strong positions and under the protection of hills. They built villages, and in all matters acted very kindly towards the people, and did not vex them with oppressive taxes. They allotted a separate quarter for the Musulmans who dwelt with them, and appointed a *kazi* over them to settle all matters of taxes and marriage. *But the call to prayer and public devotion were not permitted in their settlements.* If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble ; but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease. *On the sea they are not like the English, and do not attack other ships* which have not received their pass according to rule, or the ships of Arabia and Maskat, with which two countries they have a long-standing enmity, and they attack each other whenever opportunity offers. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands, they look upon it as their prize. *But their greatest act of tyranny is this.* If a subject of these misbelievers dies, leaving young children, and no grown-up son, the children are considered wards of the State. They take them to their places of worship, their churches, which they have built in many places, and the *pādris*, that is to say the priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion, and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Musulman *saiyid* or a Hindu *brahman*. They also make them serve as slaves.

'In the Adil-shāhī Konkan, close to the sea, in the fine and famous fort of Goa, their governor resides ; and there is a captain there who exercises full powers on the part of Portugal. They have also established some other ports and flourishing villages. Besides this, the Portuguese occupy the country from 14 or 15 *kos* south of Surat to the boundaries of the fort of Bombay, which belongs to the English, and to the borders of the territories of the Habshis, which is called the Nizām-shāhī Konkan. In the rear of the hills of Baglana, and in strong positions, difficult of access, near the fort of Gulshanabad, they have built seven or eight other forts, small and great. Two of these, by name Daman and Basi, which they obtained by fraud from Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat, they have made very strong, and the villages around are flourishing. Their possessions measure in length about 40 or 50 *kos ;* but they are not more than a *kos* or a *kos* and a half in width. They cultivate the skirts of the hills, and grow the best products, such as sugar-cane, pine-apples, and rice ; and cocoa-nut trees, and betel-nut vines, in vast numbers, from which they derive a very large revenue.

'They have made for use in their districts a silver coin called *ashrafi*, worth nine *annas*. They also use bits of copper which they call *buzurg*, and four of these *buzurgs* pass for a *fulus*. *The orders of the King (of India) are not current there.* When the people there marry, the girl is given as the dowry, and they leave the management of all affairs, in the house and out of it, to their wives. They have only one wife, and concubinage is not permitted by their religion....'[1]

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1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 344-46.

(i) Pirates of Chatgaon.

The chief trouble to the Empire, as we saw under Shāh Jahān, was from the pirates of Chatgaon. Besides the Maghs and Arrakanese, they included among them a good number of Portuguese and half-cast adventurers. Evidently these had never been tamed by the severe measures taken by Aurangzeb's father. Indeed, when their captain was asked by Shayistha Khān, the Mughal Governor of Bengal, "What did the *zamīndār* of the Maghs fix as your salary?" the corsair-chief had the audacity to reply, "*Our salary was the Imperial dominion! We considered the whole of Bengal as our jagir.* All the twelve months of the year we made our collection [i.e., booty] without trouble. We had never to bother ourselves about *amlas* and *amins*; nor had we to render accounts and balances to anybody. Passage over water was (land) survey. We never slackened the enhancement of *our* rents, viz., booty. For years we have left no arrears of [this] revenue. We have with us papers of the division of the booty, village by village, for the last 40 years."[1]

Mīr Jumla, on account of his preoccupation with the Assam campaign and his sudden death, having failed to suppress these *Feringi* pirates, Shayistha Khān (who succeeded to the viceroyalty of Bengal on 8th March, 1664) determined to suppress them once for all. Their cruelties had become intolerable. Manucci describes them as 'men hard of heart, accustomed to kill even little children without regret.' The details of the campaign may be read in Sarkar.[2] On the morning of 26 January, 1666, the fort of Chatgaon, the nest of the pirates (Magh and *Feringi*), surrendered. 'Large numbers of the peasants of Bengal who had been carried off and kept prisoners here, were now released from the Magh oppression and returned to their homes.' (*Alamgīr-nāma*). 'On 27 January, 1666, Buzurg Ummed Khān entered the fort of Chatgaon, reassured the people that their lives were safe, and firmly forbade his soldiers to oppress the people, in order to cause the place to be well-populated and prosperous.' (Shihabuddin). The place was re-named Islāmābād.

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1. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays*, pp. 203-4.

2. From Shihabuddin Talish's account as preserved in the Bodliean MS. 589 and the *Alamgīr-nāma.*—Ibid., pp. 205-26.

Cf. "Piracy in the Western Seas in the reign of Aurangzib," A. Duarte, J. U. B., V, 4, Jan. 1737.

(ii) Diplomatic Relations.

In the war with the Marathas, as already noticed, the Portuguese, being placed between two fires tried to receive warmth from both without getting scorched. By way of illustration may be cited the conduct of the Portuguese viceroy at the time of Jai Singh. In reply to letters from the latter, in 1665, the former replied assuring that he had sent orders to all the captains not to help Shivāji, according to Jai Singh's request.[1] A treaty was signed, in January 1667, between the Portuguese and the Mughals, in which was agreed among other things that the 'Farangian should not protect (pardon, *lit.*) in their kingdom a man who rebels against the Mughal King, and should consider him as a rebel against the Portugal King.'[2] Yet, before Aurangzeb made peace with Shivāji in March 1668, the Portuguese had already come to terms with the Marathas in December 1667, a year after the treaty above referred to.[3] But when Sambhāji invaded Goa together with the rebellious Prince Akbar, in 1683-4, the Portuguese again acted in concert with the Imperialists, and again came to terms with the Marathas.[4] Nor were the Mughals more consistent. Shāh Alam plotted to seize Goa by treachery. "This rupture with the Portuguese," observes Sarkar, "was the worst mistake that the prince could have committed, because it ultimately caused the annihilation of his army through famine.......The prince's only work in Konkan had been, as the English merchants remark, 'to range to and fro, as he pleases, with little resistance. He hath taken no stronghold but ruins the country, lays all waste, and burns all towns he comes near.' The scarcity in his camp reached an extreme point. The soldiers through fasting retained only the last breath of their lives. So, the baffled prince returned to the *ghat* on 20th February."[5] The friendliness of the Portuguese towards the Marathas once again brought down the Imperial arms into their Northern territory (i.e. Bassein and Daman), in 1693, when Matabar Khān (the governor of Kalyān) defeated their armies and made prisoners of their subjects. "The viceroy of Goa at last made peace by humble submission to the Emperor and the offer of presents."[6]

1. Heras, *A Treaty between Aurangzeb and the Portuguese*, p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 7.
3. Ibid., p. 12.
4. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 299.
5. Ibid., p. 303.
6. Ibid., p. 353.

B. The English.

The first English factory within the Mughal Empire was established at Surat in 1612. From there goods were exchanged, by the land route, with Agra and Delhi. In the Golkonda kingdom they had an agency at Masulipatam. Further north they established a factory at Hariharpur, 25 miles s. e. of Cuttack, and another at Balasore in 1633. Outside the Empire they bought, in 1640, the site of Fort St. George (Madras), which was 'the first independent station in India. Hugli was opened in 1651, and *nishān* (or order) was obtained from Prince Shuja (1652) permitting the English to trade in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 annually in lieu of all kinds of customs and dues. "The Bengal trade continued to grow rapidly: in 1668 the company exported from the province goods worth £34,000, in 1675 the value rose to £85,000, in 1677 to £100,000, and in 1680 to £150,000. . . . The first British ship sailed up the Ganges from the Bay of Bengal in 1679."[1]

(i) War in Bengal.

On the strength of the *nishān* above referred to the English began to claim exemption from all duties, which led to friction and ultimately war. In March 1680 Aurangzeb had also issued a *farmān* allowing the English, on payment of a consolidated duty of 3½ p.c. at Surat, to trade freely within the Empire. This was differently interpreted by the two parties. Besides, the English refused to pay exactions like *rahdāri*, *peshkash*, *farmaish*, etc., and protested against the practice (*sauda-i-khas*) of Imperial and local officials, opening packages of goods in transit and taking away articles at less than market prices.

Commenting on this, Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes, "On 10th April 1665 Aurangzib issued an order that in all provinces there would be two uniform rates of customs duty on imports in future, namely 2½ p.c. for Muslims and 5 p.c. for Hindus. The Mughal Government seems to have found it difficult to assess and levy the *jiziya* per head from the Europeans in the same manner as from the Hindus, and consequently it seems to have offered them (March 1680) a compromise by turning the *jiziya* into an addition to the import duty on their goods, raising the latter to 3½ p.c.

"*The claims of the English in Bengal (a) to escape the duty on the actual value of their imports by a fixed annual payment of Rs. 3000 (as conceded by Shuja in 1652) and (b) to trade abso-*

1. Ibid., pp. 403-4.

lutely free in all other parts of India on payment of customs in Surat (in virtue of Aurangzib's farmān of 1680), are both false and indefensible on any reasoning."[1]

But the English were determined to defend their evasion by force. A sample of their attitude is seen in Job Charnock's refusal to pay the sum of Rs. 43,000 decreed by an Indian judge against claims put forward by the Indian merchants and brokers employed by the E. I. Co. at Kāsimbazār (1684-85); consequently Charnock's factory was invested by Imperial troops in August 1685. The malfactor escaped to Hugli in April next. On 28th October 1686, the English provoked a fight and sacked the Mughal town of Hugli. Shayistha Khān, on hearing of this, "decided to crush these disturbers of public peace." In December the English fell back on Sutanati (modern Calcutta). In February 1687 they seized the island of Hijli, where they assembled all their land and sea forces in the Bay of Bengal, and burnt and looted Balasore for two days. Finally, they were overwhelmed by Mughal troops, and on 11th June the English evacuated Hijli fort, "carrying off all their ammunition and artillery, their drums beating and their banners flying!" In 1688 Job Charnock's place as Agent in Bengal was taken by Captain Heath who disgraced the name of England by his great excesses, ill-treating Christians and non-Christians, men and women alike. Being foiled in his project of wresting Chatgaon from the Mughals, he sailed for Madras in sheer disgust (17th Feb. 1689.)

The Emperor, on hearing of these hostile activities, at once ordered the arrest of all Englishmen, the seizure of all their factories, and the prohibition of all trade and intercourse with them. Within a year (Feb. 1690), 'The English [of Surat] having made a most humble, submissive petition....and [promised] that they would present the Emperor with a fine of Rs. 150,000....and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner,....His Majesty pardoned their faults and agreed....that they follow their trade as in former times.' After this the English were allowed to return to Bengal and trade freely without any further trouble. Job Charnock came back from Madras to Sutanati as Agent on 24th August. "This was the foundation of Calcutta and of the British Power in Northern India. On 10th February 1691 an imperial order (*hasb-ul-hukm*) was issued by the grand wazir to the diwan of

1. For fuller discussion see Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 405-6.

Bengal, allowing the English to carry on their trade in that province without molestation on paying Rs. 3,000 a year in lieu of all customs and other dues."[1] Although this was apparently a victory for the English it was evidently the outcome of the intercession of Ibrahim Khan, the new *Subāhdār* of Bengal, who was friendly to the English and had taken charge of the province in May 1689.

(ii) War on the West Coast.

Sir Josiah Child, Chairman of the E. I. Co. in London, had been responsible for the ignominious war in Bengal. He was ambitious, as we have pointed out elsewhere in this book, to lay 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come.' In the result, "The expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure."[2] Sir John Child, General and Director-in-Chief of English Factories in India, acting under instructions from home, led a similar expedition with no more honourable results. On 25th April, 1687, he abandoned Surat ("a fool's paradise") for Bombay ("the key of India"). He demanded from the Mughal Governor of Surat "compensation for past injuries and a new charter confirming and extending their privileges." The Mughal reply to such conduct was the obvious. The English factory at Surat was invested by Imperial troops, and the English factors, including among them Benjamin Harris, the Chief of Surat Council, were imprisoned and kept in irons for 16 months (Dec. 1688—April 1690). At the same time the Siddis of Janjira, as allies of the Mughals, attacked Bombay (May 1689) and confined the English within their fort. "Governor Child, therefore, made an abject appeal for pardon, sending a mission to Aurangzib under G. Weldon and Abraham Navarro (10th Dec. 1689). The Emperor pardoned them, by an order dated 25th December 1689. The English were restored to their old position in the Indian trade on condition of paying a fine of one-and-half lakhs of Rupees, and restoring the goods taken from Indian ships."[3]

(iii) English Piracy.

European piracy in the Indian Ocean had commenced with Vasco da Gama at the close of the 15th century. "It excited no moral reprobation in Christendom."[4] In 1635, Cobb, captain of an English

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 409.
2. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 449.
3. Sarkar, loc. cit., p. 411.
4. Ibid.

ship licensed by Charles I, plundered two Mughal vessels at the mouth of the Red Sea; and in 1638, Sir William Courten, with a similar charter from the King of England, sent out four ships which robbed Indian vessels and tortured their crews." For these misdeeds the E. I. Co. at Surat was obliged to pay an indemnity of Rs. 1,70,000.

'In the second half of the 17th century," writes Sarkar, "an even more lawless race of men than the old Buccaneers appeared and extended their operations to the Indian Ocean, acting generally in single ships and plundering vessels of every nationality. 'Of these men, chiefly English, the most notorious were Teach, Evory, Kidd, Roberts, England and Tew, and many others less known to fame.. .....Roberts alone was credited with the destruction of 400 trading vessels in three years....The chief cause of their immunity lay in the fact that it was business of nobody in particular to act against them....Their friends on shore supplied their wants and gave them timely information of rich prizes to be looked for, or armed ships to be avoided. *Officials high in authority winked at their doings, from which they drew a profit....* Not only were the greater number of pirates of English blood, but pirate captains of other nationalities often sailed under English colours. The native officials, unable to distinguish the rogues from the honest traders, held the E. I. Co.'s servants responsible for their misdeeds."[1]

In 1681 two pirate ships flying English colours secured a booty of 6 *lakhs* of Rupees in the Red Sea. The most notorious among these buccaneers was Henry Bridgman (*alias* Evory). His crowning achievement, the capture of the *Ganj-i-Sawāi*, is thus described by Khāfī Khān :—

'The royal ship called the *Ganj-i-sawai*, than which there was no larger in the fort of Surat, used to sail every year for the House of God (at Mecca). It was now bringing back to Surat 52 *lacs* of rupees in silver and gold, the produce of the sale of Indian goods at Mocha and Jedda. The captain of this ship was Ibrahim Khān....There were 80 guns and 400 muskets on board, besides, other implements of war. It had come within 8 or 9 days of Surat, when an English ship came in sight, of much smaller size, and not having a third or fourth part of the armament of the *Ganj-i-sawai*. When it came within gun-shot, a gun was fired at it from the royal ship. By ill-luck, the gun burst, and three or four men were killed by its fragments. About the same time, a shot from the enemy struck and damaged the main mast, on which the safety

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 412.

of the vessel depends. The Englishmen perceived this, and being encouraged by it, bore down to attack, and drawing their swords, jumped on board of their opponents. The Christians are not bold in the use of the sword, and there were so many vessels on board the royal vessel that if the captain had made any resistance, they must have been defeated. But as soon as the English began to board, Ibrahim Khān ran down into the hold. There were some Turki girls whom he had bought in Mocha as concubines for himself. He put turbans on their heads and swords into their hands, and incited them to fight. These fell into the hands of the enemy, who soon became perfect masters of the ship. They transferred the treaure and many prisoners to their own ship. When they had laden their ship, they brought the royal ship to shore near one of their settlements, and busied themselves for a week searching for plunder, stripping the men, and dishonouring the women, both old and young. They then left the ship, carrying off the men. Several honourable women, when they found an opportunity, threw themselves into the sea, to preserve their chastity, and some others killed themselves with knives and daggers.

'This loss was reported to Aurangzeb, and the newswriters of the port of Surat sent some rupees which the English had coined at Bombay, with the superscription containing the name of their impure King. Aurangzeb then ordered that the English factors who were residing at Surat for commerce should be seized. Orders were also given to Itimad Khān, superintendent of the port of Surat, and Sidi Yakut Khān, to make preparations for besieging the fort of Bombay. The evils arising from the English occupation of Bombay were of long standing. The English were not at all alarmed at the threatenings. They knew that Siddi Yakut was offended at some slights he had received. But they were more active than usual in building bastions and walls, and in blocking up the roads, so that in the end they made the place quite impregnable. Itimad Khān saw all these preparations, and came to the conclusion that there was no remedy, and that a struggle with the English would result only in a heavy loss to the customs revenue. He made no serious preparations for carrying the royal order into execution, and was not willing that even a rupee should be lost to the revenue. To save appearances, he kept the English factors in confinement, but privately he endeavoured to effect an arrangement. After the confinement of their factors, the English, by way of reprisal, seized upon every Imperial officer, wherever they found one, on sea or on shore, and kept them all in confinement. So matters went on for a long time.'[1]

(iv) Khāfi Khān's Embassy.

The sequel is of peculiar interest as the author of the narrative, on which we have so much depended, was himself one of the persons employed in the negotiations.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 350-51.

'During these troubles,' writes Khāfī Khān, 'I, the writer of this work, had the misfortune of seeing the English of Bombay, when I was acting as agent for Abdur Razzak Khān at the port of Surat. I had purchased goods to the value of nearly two *lacs* of rupees, and had to convey them from Surat to Abdur Razzak, the *faujdār* of Rāhiri.[1] My route was along the seashore through the possessions of the Portuguese and the English. On arriving near Bombay, but while I was yet in the Portuguese territory, in consequence of a letter from Abdur Razzak, I waited ten or twelve days for the escort of Sidi Yakut Khān. Abdur Razzak had been on friendly terms with an Englishman in his old Haidarabad days, and he had now written to him about giving assistance to the convoy. The Englishman sent out the brother of his *diwan*, very kindly inviting me to visit him. The Portuguese captain and my companions were averse to my going there with such valuable property. I, however, put my trust in God, and went to the Englishman. I told the *diwan's* brother, that if the conversation turned upon the capture of the ship, I might have to say unpleasant things, for I would speak the truth. The Englishman's *vakil* advised me to say freely what I deemed right, and to speak nothing but the truth.

'When I entered the fortress, I observed that from the gate there was on each side of the road a line of youths, of twelve or fourteen years of age, well dressed, and having excellent muskets on their shoulders. Every step I advanced, young men with sprouting beards, handsome and well clothed, with fine muskets in their hands, were visible on every side. As I went onwards, I found Englishmen standing with long beards, of similar age, and with the same accoutrements and dress. After that I saw musketeers (*barkandaz*), well dressed and arranged, drawn up in ranks. Further on I saw Englishmen with white beards, clothed in brocade, with muskets on their shoulders, drawn up in two ranks, and in perfect array. Next I saw some English children, handsome, and wearing pearls on the borders of their hats. In the same way, on both sides, as far as the door of the house where he abode, I found drawn up in ranks on both sides nearly 7,000 musketeers dressed and accoutred as for a review.

'I then went straight up to the place where he was seated on a chair. He wished me Good-day, his usual form of salutation; then he rose from his chair, embraced me, and signed for me to sit down on a chair in front of him. After a few kind inquiries, our discourse turned upon different things, pleasant and unpleasant, bitter and sweet; but all he said was in a kind and friendly spirit towards Abdur Razzak. He inquired why his factors had been placed in confinement. Knowing that God and the Prophet of God would protect me, I answered, "Although you do not acknowledge that shameful action, worthy of the reprobation of all sensible men, which was perpetrated by your wicked men, this question you have put to me is as if a wise man should ask where the

1. This was the identical Abur Razzak of Golkonda fame who had since reconciled himself to the Imperial service.

sun is when all the world is filled with his rays." He replied, "Those who have an ill-feeling against me cast upon me the blame for the fault of others. How do you know that this deed was the work of my men? By what satisfactory proof will you establish this?" I replied, "In that ship I had a number of wealthy acquaintances, and two or three poor ones, destitute of all worldly wealth. I heard from them that when the ship was plundered, and they were taken prisoners, some men, in the dress and with the looks of Englishmen, and on whose hands and bodies there were marks, wounds, and scars, said in their own language, 'We got these scars at the time of the siege of Sidi Yakut, but to-day the scars have been removed from our heart.' A person who was with them knew Hindi and Persian, and he translated their words to my friends."

'On hearing this, he laughed loudly, and said, "It is true they may have said so. They are a party of Englishmen, who, having received wounds in the siege of Yakub Khān, were taken prisoner by him. Some of them parted from me, joined the *Habshi*, and became Musulmans. They stayed with Yakut Khān some time, and then ran away from him. But they had not the face to come back to me. Now they have gone and taken part with the *dingenars*, or *sakanas*, who lay violent hands on ships upon the sea; and with them they are serving as pirates. Your sovereign's officers do not understand how they are acting, but cast the blame upon me."

'I smilingly replied, "What I have heard about your readiness of reply and your wisdom, I have (now) seen. All praise to your ability for giving off-hand, and without consideration, such an exculpatory and sensible answer! But you must recall to mind that the hereditary kings of Bijapur and Haidarabad and the good-for-nothing Sambha have not escaped the hands of King Aurangzeb. Is the island of Bombay a sure refuge?" I added, "What a manifest declaration of rebellion you have shown in coining rupees!"

'He replied, "We have to send every year a large sum of money, the profits of our commerce, to our country, and the coins of the King of Hindustan are of short weight, and much debased; and in this island, in the course of buying and selling them, great disputes arise. Consequently we have placed our own names on the coins, and have made them current in our own jurisdiction." A good deal more conversation passed between us, and part of it seemed to vex him; but he showed himself throughout very thoughtful of Abdur Razzak Khān, and mindful of his obligation to protect him. When the interview was over, he proffered me entertainment in their fashion; but as I had resolved from the first that I would not depart from the usual course in the present interview, I accepted only *atr* and *pān*, and was glad to escape.'

Khāfī Khān concludes this account with the following note:— 'The total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betel-nuts and cocoa-nuts, does not reach to two or three *lacs* of rupees. The profits of the commerce of these misbelievers, according to re-

port, does not exceed twenty *lacs* of rupees. *The balance of the money acquired for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, of which they take one or two every year.* When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Mocha and Jadda laden with the goods of Hindustan, they do not interfere with them ; but when they return bringing gold and silver and *Ibrahimi* and *rial*, their spies have found out which ship bears the richest burden, and they attack it.'[1]

(v) Mughal Failure.

The culprits when they could be caught were imprisoned, the E. I. Co.'s factors and officers were indemnified, imprisoned or threatened with extradition, but European piracy continued triumphant in Indian waters in the absence of a strong Indian navy. After the *Ganj-i-sawāi* incident, in September 1695, the Dutch proffered to clear the seas in return for exclusive rights of trading within the Empire free of all duty ; but the Emperor declined the offer. An agreement, on the other hand, was made with the English for a similar responsibility in return for half the running cost of each double voyage of the escorting ship. Consequently all the English prisoners were set at liberty on 27th June, 1696. But the same year saw the renewal of piracy in a more virulent form under Captain William Kidd, "destined to blossom into the most redoubtable pirate who ever besmirched the honour of England."[2] He had been sent out by a syndicate of English noblemen on the *Adventure*, a very strong 30-gun vessel, to destroy piracy in the Indian Ocean ! "Arriving off Calicut early in 1697, he took to a life of piracy, shamelessly describing his robberies as legitimate acts of privateering authorized by the King of England. Kidd's success drew many restless English seamen into his party. 'Distributing his forces with the skill of a sea-strategist,' Captain Kidd dominated the Indian Ocean, with his munitions and stores drawn from a base in Madagascar. 'All told, the pirate fleet mounted 120 guns, and was manned by not less than 300 Europeans, of whom the great majority were Englishmen.'"[3]

Finally, in December 1698, Amānat Khān, the Mughal governor of Surat, surrounded the European factories and gave them an ultimatum either to give an undertaking to guard the seas or to

1. Ibid., pp. 351-54.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 415.
3. Ibid.

leave the country within ten days. Consequently "the English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy, and signed bonds by which they *jointly* engaged to make good all future losses. On receiving this agreement, Aurangzeb reversed his embargo on European trade in the Mughal dominions, and he wrote to the Surat governor to settle the matter in his own way. In the terms of this agreement, 'the Dutch convoyed the Mecca pilgrims and patrolled the entrance to the Red Sea, besides paying Rs. 70,000 to the governor of Surat; the English paid Rs. 30,000 and patrolled the South Indian seas, while the French made a similar payment and policed the Persian Gulf.' "[1]

Nevertheless, "a return prepared in January 1702 showed that the captives at Surat numbered 109 persons, including 21 English officials of the Company....and 15 seamen." Sir John Gayer was imprisoned for 6 years from February 1701, with a few intervals; but this was mainly due to the machinations of Sir Nicholas Waite, President of a new rival English Company established at Surat on 8th April 1699. An ambassador from the King of England, Sir William Norris, waited upon Aurangzeb for 16 months (from 27 Jan. 1701-18 April 1702), but with no result. Another piratical outrage was committed off Surat, on 28th Aug. 1703, when two ships returning from Mocha were captured. By way of indemnity, Itibar Khān, the governor of Surat, extorted, from Vittal and Keshav Parekh (the Old English Company's brokers), 3 *lacs* of rupees, and another 3 *lacs* similarly from the Dutch. But when Aurangzeb heard of this, he disapproved of Itibar's action and set aside the agreement of 1699 under which the indemnity was demanded. Misadventures of this nature with consequent punishments, followed by piratical reprisals, continued, and Aurangzeb realised the helplessness of the situation in the absence of a strong Imperial navy. But he was too much pre-occupied with his Deccan war. Khāfī Khān notes with much concern, 'The Mahrattas also possess the newly-built forts of Khānderi, Kolābā, Kasa, and Katora, in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the *Habshis*. Their warships cruise about these forts, and attack vessels whenever they get the opportunity. The *sakanas* also, who are sometimes called *bawaril*, a lawless set of men belonging to Surat, in the province of Ahmedabad, are notorious for their piracies and they attack from time to

1. Ibid., p. 416.

time the small ships which come from Bandar Abbasi and Maskat. They do not venture to attack the large ships which carry the pilgrims. The reprobate English act in the same way as the *sakanas*.'[1]

V. THE RIDDLE OF AURANGZEB

A Great Enigma.

Aurangzeb's character was a great enigma even to his contemporaries; we are hardly in a better position to correctly understand him. His reign was a riddle in contrasts. To borrow the familiar antithesis from Dickens, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way—in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only."

Only, on the throne of Delhi, instead of there being 'a king with a large jaw,' there was one with a large nose[2] and an itching jaw; the queen with a plain face' was simply out of the picture.

A modern writer has pronounced Aurangzeb "a puzzling compound of contradictions."[3] Bernier found him, 'reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation.' He further said that 'every person in the court, excepting only his brother, Dārā, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character.'[4] This should be sufficient caution for all modern critics of Aurangzeb's strange enigmatic character. We shall here only make an attempt to present this Imperial chameleon in all his changing colours, instead of trying to dogmatise.

Aurangzeb's letters, of which over 2,000 are extant, are an

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 355.
2. Dr. Gemelli Careri, who saw Aurangzeb on 21st March, 1695, in the Deccan, speaks of his white beard, trimmed round, contrasting vividly with his olive skin: 'he was of a low stature, *with a large nose*; slender and stooping with age.'—Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 197.
3. Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 87.
4. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 10.

invaluable document throwing abundant light upon his manifold character. In one of these, written to his father Shāh Jahān, he writes, "*It is clear to your Majesty that God Almighty bestows His trusts upon one who discharges the duty of cherishing his subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear to wise men that a wolf is not fit to be a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism.*"[1]

Aurangzeb's Ideal of Kingship.

To an officer who suggested to Aurangzeb that, for consideration of health, he should spare himself, he is reported to have said :

'Being born the son of a King and placed on the throne, *I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others ;..it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult ; nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State.*' He also added, 'There can surely be but one opinion among wise men as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care. . . . . .Alas ! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence, we need no such officious counsellors. Our wives, too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury.'[2]

Again, in another letter to his father, Aurangzeb expressed his sense of the responsibilities of kingship thus :—'My elevation to the throne has not, as you imagine, filled me with insolence and pride. You know, by more than forty years' experience, how burthensome an ornament a crown is, and with how sad and aching an heart a monarch retires from the public gaze. . . . . .*the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest kings.* The nations of the earth have often been subjugated by mere uncivilised barbarians, and the most extensive conquests have in a few short years crumbled to pieces. *He is the truly great king who makes it the chief business of his life to govern his subjects with equity.*"[3]

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 253.
2. Bernier, op. cit., pp. 129-30.
3. Ibid., pp. 167-8.

Benevolent Intentions.

That these were no idle sentiments diplomatically expressed to deceive the world is borne out by the wise regulations he made for the guidance of his revenue officials. That he had also striven to act according to them has been amply demonstrated by his own civil achievements as Viceroy of the Deccan. We have space only for a few of these by way of illustration.

REVENUE REGULATIONS[1]

I

'The officers of the present and future *amils* of the Empire of Hindustan from end to end, should collect the revenue and other [dues] from the *mahals* in the proportions and manner fixed in the luminous Law and shining orthodox Faith, and [according to] whatever has been meant and sanctioned in this gracious mandate in pursuance of the correct and trustworthy Traditions—

'And they should not demand new orders every year, but should consider delay and transgression as the cause of their disgrace in this world and the next.

First.—'They should practise benevolence to the cultivators, inquire into their condition, and exert themselves judiciously and tactfully, so that [the cultivators] may joyfully and heartily try to increase the cultivation, and every arable tract may be brought under tillage.

[*Commentary on the margin* :—" Concerning what has been written in the first clause the wish of the just Emperor is, " display friendliness and good management which are the causes of the increase of cultivation. And that [friendliness] *consists in this that under no name or custom should you take a dām or dirham above the fixed amount and rate. By no person should the ryots be oppressed or molested in any way.* The manager of affairs at the place should be a protector [of rights] and just [in carrying out these orders.]"

Second.—'......If you find that the peasants are unable to procure the implements of tillage, advance to them money from the State in the form of a *taqāwi* after taking security.

Third.— ....[*Commentary* :—...... 'As the Emperor likes leniency and justice, [he here orders] that the officers should kindly wait for one year [for the return of a fugitive ryot] and, in the case of [direct] cultivation or lease, they should pay to him any surplus left above the Government revenue.']........

1. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 197-223. The *farmān* containing these was issued in 1668-69 A.D.

Sixth.—'In places where no tithe or revenue has been laid on a cultivated land, fix whatever ought to be fixed according to the Holy Law. If it be revenue, *fix the revenue at such an amount that the ryots may not be ruined by the payment of it : and for no reason exceed half [the crop], even though the land may be capable of paying more.* Where the amount is fixed, accept it, provided that if it is *kharaj*, the Government share should not exceed one-half, lest the ryots be ruined by the exaction. *Otherwise reduce the former kharaj and fix whatever the ryots can easily pay.* If the land is capable of paying more than the fixed [amount] do not take more.

Seventh.—'You may change fixed revenue (*Muzzaf*) into share of crop (*Muqasema*), or *vice versa, if the ryots agree to it : otherwise not.*

Ninth.—'In lands subject to fixed land revenues, *if any non-preventable calamity overtakes a sown field you ought to inquire carefully, and grant remission to the extent of the calamity,* as required by truth and the nature of the case. And in realising produce from the remnant, *see that a net one-half [of the produce] may be left to the ryots.*[1]

[*Commentary* :—'....In the case of fields which have been flooded, or where the rain-water has been exhausted, or any non-preventable calamity has over-taken the crop before reaping, so that the ryot has secured nothing, nor has time enough left for a second crop to be raised before the beginning of the next year—consider the revenue as remitted....

II

'Rasik-dās, thrifty and obedient to Islām, hope for Imperial favours and know—

'*That all the desires and aims of the Emperor are directed to the increase of cultivation, and the welfare of the peasantry and the people at large, who are the marvellous creation of and a trust from the Creator (glorified be His name).*

............(Similar regulations)......

Twelfth.—'Report the names of those among the *amins* and *kroris* of the *jāgirdārs*, who have served with uprightness and devotion, and by following the established rules in every matter have proved themselves good officers,—so that as the result may be rewarded according to their attention to the gain of the State and their honesty. But if any have acted in the opposite manner, report the fact to the Emperor, that they may be dismissed from the service, put on their defence and explanation [of their conduct], and receive the punishment of their irregular acts.'

Thirteenth.—'With great insistence gather together the papers of the records at the right time. In the village in which you stay, every day secure from the officers the daily account of the collection of revenue and cess and prices current, and from the other *parganas* the daily account

1. i.e. If the normal produce is 10 maunds, and 4 maunds have been destroyed by any calamity, take only *one* as revenue.

of the collection of revenue and cash (*maujudāt*) every fortnight, and the balance in the treasuries of *fotahdārs* and the *jam'a wāsil bāqi* every month, and the *tumār* of the total revenue and the *jama bandi* (annual revenue settlement) and the incomes and expenditures of the treasuries of the *fotahdārs* season by season. After looking through these papers demand the refunding of whatever has been spent without being accounted for, and then send them to the Imperial Record Office. Do not leave the papers of the spring harvest uncollected up to the autumn harvest.'

It must have been clear to the reader from the above evidence that Aurangzeb had the right perspective for the ruler of an agricultural land like ours. Despite the loss in revenue it involved, Aurangzeb, it is well known, soon after his accession, remitted no less than 80 different taxes and duties. 'The movements of large armies through the country, especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past, and scarcity of rain in some parts,' observes Khāfī Khān, 'had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the *rahdāri* (toll) which was collected on every highway (*guzar*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *pandari*, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the greengrocer, to the draper, jeweller, and banker. Something was paid according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded *lacs* (of rupees). Other cesses lawful and unlawful, as the *sur-shumāri, buz-shumāri, bar-gadi,* the *charāi* (grazing tax) of the *Banjaras,* the *luwa'ana,* the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Muhammadan saints, and at the *jatras* or fairs of the infidels, held near Hindu temples, throughout the country far and wide, where *lacs* of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits, on gambling-houses, on brothels, the fines, thank offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in *krors* of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these, the tithe of corn, which lawfully brought in twenty-five *lacs* of rupees, was remitted to alleviate the heavy cost of grain.'[1]

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1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 246-7.

Aurangzeb's Mildness.

In spite of stringent orders, however, many of these forbidden dues continued to be exacted by selfish local officials, or *jāgīdārs*. Khāfī Khān gives two reasons for this : '*Firstly*, because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread of punishment remained in the hearts of *jāgīrdārs*, *faujdārs* and *zamīndārs*. *Secondly*, because the revenue officers, through inattention, or want of consideration or with an eye to profit, contrary to what was intended, made deductions (for these cesses) from the *tankhwah* accounts of the *jāgīrdārs*. So the *jāgīrdārs*, under the pretext that the amount of the cesses was entered in their *tankhwah* papers, continued to collect the *rahdāri* and many other of the abolished imports, and even increased them. When reports reached the government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders) were punished with a diminution of *mansab*, and the delegation of mace-bearers to their districts. The mace-bearers forbade the collection of the imports for a few days, and then retired. After a while, the offenders, through their patrons or the management of their agents, got their *mansab* restored to its original amounts. So the regulation for the abolition of most of the imports had no effect.'[1]

Lane-Poole's comments on this are worthy of attention. "Cynical critics," he observes, "have explained Aurangzeb's ineffectual generosity as an ingenious contrivance to carry favour with the people without impoverishing the treasury. Dr. Careri seems to incline to the opinion that the Emperor connived at his Amir's misdeeds in order to gain their support. A certain amount of conciliation of powerful chiefs, and even winking at their irregularities is inseparable from a quasi-feudal administration, and Aurangzeb may have felt himself compelled sometimes to shut his eyes lest worse things should happen. The plain interpretation, however, of the remission of taxes as an act of bounty dictated by the Qurānic injunction of benevolence to 'the needy and the son of the road,' is simpler and more consistent with all we know of the Emperor's disposition. *He was not the man to connive at illegal extortion on the oppression of the poor*."[2] We are disposed to agree. Aurangzeb's wise counsel to his son Shāh Alam may be taken as representing his correct attitude in such matters : 'An Emperor ought to stand

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 248.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 82-3.

midway between gentleness and severity. If either of these two qualities exceeds the other, it becomes a cause of the ruin of his throne, because in case of excessive gentleness, the people display audacity, while the increase of harshness scares away heart.'[1]

Aurangzeb's Justice.*

Not merely Indian writers but also foreigners bear testimony to the fair administration of justice under Aurangzeb. Ovington, "who derived his opinions and information from Aurangzeb's 'least partial critics, the English merchants at Bombay and Surat,' says that the Great Mogul 'is, the main ocean of justice. . . .He generally determines with exact justice and equity ; for there is no pleading of peerage or privilege before the Emperor, but the meanest man is as soon heard by Aurangzib as the chief Omrah : which makes the Omrahs very circumspect of their actions and punctual in their payments.'[2] The author of the *Mirāt-i' Alam*, Bakhtawar Khān, gives us the following picture of Aurangzeb the judge :—

'In his sacred Court no improper conversation, no word of backbiting or of falsehood is allowed. His courtiers on whom his lights is reflected, are cautioned that if they have to say anything which might injure the character of an absent man, they should express themselves in decorous language and in full detail. He appears two or three times every day in his Court of Audience with a pleasing countenance and mild look, to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without hindrance, and as he listens to them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality. If any person talks too much, or acts in an improper manner, he is never displeased, and he never knits his brows. His courtiers have often desired to prohibit people from showing so much boldness, but he remarks that by hearing their very words, and seeing their gestures, he acquires a habit of forbearance and tolerance. All bad characters are expelled from the city of Delhi, and the same is ordered to be done in all places throughout the whole empire. The duties of preserving order and regularity among the people are very efficiently attended to, and throughout the empire, notwithstanding its great extent, nothing can be done without meeting with the due punishment enjoined

1. Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 58. Or, as he expressed it in other words:—'Don't be so salt that [your subjects] would spit you out of their mouths, nor be so sweet that they may gulp you down.' Ibid., p. 61.

Cf. "Administration of Justice in the Mughal Empire," Sri Ram Sharma, *Calcutta Review*, March 1943. Also by the same writer : "Administration of Justice in Aurangzeb's time," in I. H. Q., XXI, 2 (June 1945), pp. 101-4.

2. Ovington, p. 198, cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 81.

by the Muhammadan law. *Under the dictates of anger and passion he never issues orders of death.*[1]

This character is further confirmed by Dr. Careri, who saw him in the Deccan in 1695. Seated upon a square gilt throne, raised two steps above the dais, inclosed with silver banisters, 'they gave him his scimitar and buckler, which he laid down on his left side within the throne. Then he made a sign with his hand for those that had business to draw near ; who being come up, two secretaries, standing, took their petitions, which they delivered to the King, telling him the contents. I admir'd to see him indorse them with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seemed to be pleased with the employment.'[2]

Aurangzeb's Activity.

Great and incessant activity is a desideratum to great achievement. Aurangzeb shared this quality of his forefathers. Both Akbar and Shāh Jahān never spared themselves ; Humāyūn's and Jahāngīr's love of ease were the cause of their comparative failure. Sher Shāh made his mark by his watchful and unceasing labours. Aurangzeb, if ever he needed the lesson, knew his history well. "An emperor," he told his son Muazzam, "should never allow himself to be fond of ease and inclined to retirement, because the most fatal cause of the decline of kingdoms and the destruction of royal power is this undesirable habit. Always be moving about, as much as possible.

It is bad for both emperors and water to remain at the same place,

The water grows putrid and the king's power slips out of his control."[3]

His motto appears to have been like that of his great western contemporary Louis XIV, whom he resembled in many ways (except in his Puritanism—"One must work hard to reign, and it is ingratitude and presumption towards God, injustice and tyranny towards man, to wish to reign without hard work." Aurangzeb himself wrote, 'So long as a single breath of this mortal life remains, there is no release from labour and work.'[4] Here is his daily routine as given by Prof. Sarkar : —

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 158.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 198.
3. Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 59.
4. Ibid., p. 107.

A. M.

5 .... Wakes—Morning Prayer—Devotional reading.
7-30 .... Justice in Private Chamber.
8-30 .... *Darśan*—Review—Elephant Fights.
9-15 .... Public Darbār.
11 .... Private Audience.
11-50 .... Harem—Siesta.

P. M.

2 .... *Zuhar* Prayer.
2-30 .... Private Chamber—Study—Business—*Asar* Prayer—State affairs.
5-30 .... Evening salute in the Private Audience Hall—Sunset Prayer.
6-40 .... *Soiree* in the *Diwān-i-Khās.*
7-30 .... Court dismissed—*Isha* Prayer.
8 .... In the Harem—Religious meditation—Sleep.

"This routine was varied on three days of the week. On Friday, the Islamic Sabbath, no Court was held. Wednesday was sacred to justice, and no public *darbār* was then held, but the Emperor went straight from the *darśan* to the Private Audience Hall, thronged with the Law Officers, *qāzis, muftis,* scholars, theologians (*ulema*), Judges, and the Prefect of Police for the City. None else was admitted unless his presence was needed. The Emperor went on personally judging cases till noon.

'On Thursday he gave his Court a half-holiday, as we get on Saturday in British India. The usual routine was followed up to noon; but there was no afternoon Court, nor any assembly in the *Diwān-i-Khās* at night. The whole evening was spent in prayer and sacred reading, and the world and its distractions were kept out.

"If we may believe the Court historian (*Alamgir-nāma*), Aurangzib slept only three hours out of twenty-four."[1]

Through half-a-century of Imperial rule, through war and peace, through sickness and health, through sunshine and rain, Aurangzeb strictly adhered to his sense of duty and passion for work. Bernier records a wonderful illustration :—

'Aureng-zebe, *notwithstanding his serious indisposition, continued to occupy his mind with the affairs of Government,* and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Muzum, *in the event of his death, to release the King from confinement;* but *he was constantly dictating letters* to Etbar-kan, urging him to be faithful and rigid in the discharge of his duty; and *on the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of the disorder, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the Omrahs,* for the purpose of undeceiving those who might believe he was dead, and of preventing a public tumult, or any accident by which *Shāh-Jehān* might effect his escape. The same reasons induced him to visit

1. Sarkar, *Anecdotes,* pp. 177-84.

that assembly on the 7th, 9th and 10th days; and, *what appears almost incredible, on the 13th day, when scarcely recovered from a swoon so deep and long that his death was generally reported,* he sent for the *Raja* Jesseingue, and two or three of the principal *Omrahs,* for the purpose of verifying his existence. *He then desired the attendants to raise him in the bed; called for paper and ink that he might write to Etbar-kan, and dispatched a messenger for the Great-Seal,* which was placed under Rauchenara-Begam's care enclosed in a small bag, which was impressed with a signet which he always kept fastened to his arm; *wishing to satisfy himself that the Princess had not made use of this instrument to promote any sinister design.*' 'I was present,' continues Bernier with great admiration, 'when my *Agah* became acquainted with all these particulars, and heard him exclaim, "what strength of mind! what invincible courage! Heaven reserve thee, Aureng-zebe, for greater achievements! Thou art not yet destined to die."[1]

Sarkar remarks, "Historians have observed that though he died in his 90th year, he (Aurangzeb) retained to the last almost all his faculties unimpaired. His memory was wonderful: 'he never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard.' All his physical powers retained their vigour to the end, except a slight deafness of the ear, which afflicted him in old age, and a lameness of the right leg, which was due to his doctor's unskilful treatment of an accidental dislocation."[2]

Elphinstone writes, "In reviewing these laborious undertakings, it is impossible not to admire the persevering spirit with which Aurangzib bore up against the difficulties and misfortunes that overshadowed his declining years. He was *near sixty-five when he crossed the Narbada* to begin on this long war and *had attained his eighty-first before he quitted his cantonment of Birampuri.* The fatigues of marches and sieges were little suited to such an age; and, in spite of the display of the luxury in his camp equipage, he suffered hardships that would have tried the constitution of a younger man....The impassable streams, the flooded valleys, the miry bottoms and narrow ways caused still greater difficulties.... The violent heats, in tents and during marches, were distressing at other seasons, and often rendered overpowering by failure of water: general famines and pestilences came more than once, in addition to the scarcity and sickness to which his own camp was often liable; and all was aggravated by accounts of the havoc and destruction committed by the enemy in the countries beyond the reach of those

1. Bernier, *Travels,* pp. 125-6.
2. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib,* p. 462.

visitations. *But in all these discouragements Aurangzib retained his vigour.* He alone conducted every branch of his government, in the most minute detail. He planned campaigns, and issued instructions during their progress; drawings of forts sent for him to fix on the points of attack; his letters embrace measures for keeping open the roads in the Afghan country, for quelling disturbances at Multan and Agra, and even for recovering possession of Candahar; and, at the same time, there is scarcely a detachment marches or a convoy moves in the Deckan without some orders from Aurangzib's own hand.

"The appointment of the lowest revenue officer of a district, or the selection of a clerk in an office, is not beneath his attention; and the conduct of all these functionaries is watched,[1] by means of spies and of prying inquiries from all comers, and they are constantly kept on the alert by admonitions founded on such information. This attention to particulars is not favourable to real progress of business, any more than it is indicative of enlarged genius; but combined, as it was in Aurangzib, with unremitting vigilance in all the great affairs of the State, *it shows an activity of mind that would be wonderful at any age*."[2]

Aurangzeb's Contrasts.

All that has been stated above should go to substantiate Lane-Poole's just estimate of Aurangzeb being "incomparably his father's superior—a wiser man, a juster king, a more clement and benevolent ruler." "His greatest calumniator Manucci," he adds, "admits that his heart was really kind."[3] "He further states, "All we know of his methods of government, ... goes to prove that his fine sentiments were really the ruling principles of his life. No act of injustice *according to the law of Islām*, has been proved against him."[4] Even Bernier does not fail to observe, 'yet even those who may maintain that the circumstances of country, birth and education afford no palliation of the conduct pursued by Aurang-zebe (towards his

1. In his last will and testament Aurangzeb wrote,—'The main pillar of government is to be well informed in the news of the kingdom. Negligence for a single moment becomes the cause of disgrace for long years. The escape of the wretch Shiva took place through [my] carelessness, and I have to labour hard [against the Marathas] to the end of my life, [as the result of it].'—Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 55.
2. Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 665-6.
3. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 86.
4. Ibid., p. 80.

father and brothers), *must admit that this Prince is endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman, and a great King*."[1] If the writer of his *Anecdotes* is correct, Shāh Jahān, too appears to have foreseen that 'the resolution and intelligence of Aurangzib make it necessary that he (alone) would undertake this difficult task (of ruling India).[2] Dryden only translates this sentiment into verse when he writes :

> 'This Atlas must our sinking state uphold ;
> In counsel cool, but in performance bold :
> He sums their (his brothers') virtues in himself alone....

Despite this, however, it is also true as V. A. Smith holds "When he is judged as a sovereign he must be pronounced a failure." He quotes Khāfī Khān to emphasize 'his merits as an ascetic and his demerits in the practical government of an empire.' Hence, 'in spite of his devotion, austerity, and justice, courage, long-suffering, and sound judgment,' every plan and project that he formed came to little good, and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object' (Khāfī Khān). Smith adds, "The censures of the friendly Muhammadan critic do not exhaust the list of Aurangzib's defects as a ruler." But we may not agree with him in his enumeration of all the details.

"He never trusted anybody, and consequently was ill served. His cold, calculating temperament rarely permitted him to indulge in love for man or woman, and few indeed were the persons who loved him. His reliance on mere cunning as the principal instrument in statecraft testified to a certain smallness of mind, and, moreover was ineffective in practice. *Although he had many opportunities for winning military distinction, he failed to show ability as a general whether before or after his accession.* His proceedings in the Deccan during the latter part of his life were simply ridiculous as military operations. *In fact, nothing in the history of Aurangzib justifies posterity in classing him a great King.* His tricky cunning was mainly directed, first to winning, and then to keeping the throne. He did nothing for literature or art. Rather it should be said that he did less than nothing, because he discouraged both."[3]

1. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 199.
2. Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, pp. 40-41.
3. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 447-48.

To completely deny Aurangzeb all title to greatness sounds fanatical. The dissipation of his last campaigns need not blind us to his earlier military achievements, both as Prince and as Emperor. Aurangzeb's great weakness was, indeed, his suspiciousness, the natural corollary to which was over-centralization in administration, both civil and military. But given his energy and intellectual power, this need not have proved fatal ; it was a weakness common to his tribe—men of power and overmastering ambition. There was undeniably a certain lack in his character—" a certain smallness of mind," indeed—the generosity and openness of mind common to all his predecessors. It was on account of this that " all his self-restraint, his sense of duty, his equity, and laborious care of his people, counted for nothing in their hearts *against his cold reserve and distrust.*" " His very asceticism and economy and simplicity of life were repugnant to a nation accustomed to the splendour of Shāh Jahān's magnificent court. The mass of his subjects felt that if they must have an alien in race and religion for their king, at least let him show himself a king right royally, and shed his sovereign radiance on his subjects, even while he emptied their purses upon his stately pleasures. *This was just what Aurangzib could not do. The very loftiness of his nature kept his people at a distance, while his inflexible uprightness and frigid virtue chilled their hearts.*"[1]

Aurangzeb's Puritanism.

In the ultimate analysis, it is possible to attribute all Aurangzeb's failures and defects to his religious character. " His character," says Lane-Poole, " is that of the Puritan, with all its fiery zeal, its ascetic restraint, its self-denial, its uncompromising tenacity of righteous purpose, its high ideals of conduct and duty ; and also with its cold severity, its curbed impulses, its fanaticism, its morbid distrust of 'poor human nature,' its essential unlovableness. Aurangzib possessed many great qualities, he practised all the virtues ; *but he was lacking in the one thing needful in a leader of men ; he could not win love. Such a one may administer an empire, but he cannot rule the hearts of men.*"

IDEAL MUSLIM MONARCH

The reader will be amply rewarded for his patience to go

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 86-7.

through the following description of the Emperor, dwelling on the arch-trait of his character :—

'Be it known to the readers of this work,' writes Baktawar Khān, author of the *Mirāt-i Alam,* 'that this humble slave of the Almighty is going to describe in a correct manner the excellent character, the worthy habits and the refined morals of this most virtuous monarch, Abu-l Muzaffar Muhiu-d din Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr, according as he has witnessed them with his own eyes. This Emperor, a great worshipper of God by natural propensity, is remarkable for his rigid attachment to religion. He is a follower of the doctrines of Imām Abu Hanifa (may God be pleased with him!), and establishes the five fundamental doctrines of the *Kanz.* Having made his ablutions, he always occupies a great part of his time in adoration of the Deity, and says the usual prayers, first in the *masjid* and then at home, both in congregation and in private, with the most heartfelt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays and other sacred days, and he reads the Friday prayers in the *Jami Masjid* with the common people of the Muhammadan faith. He keeps vigils during the whole of the sacred nights, and with the light of the favour of God illumines the lamps of religion and prosperity....

'In privacy he never sits on the throne. He gave away in alms before his accession a portion of his allowance of lawful food and clothing, and now devotes to the same purpose the income of a few villages in the district of Delhi, and the proceeds of two or three salt-producing tracts, which are appropriated to his privy purse.....and although, on account of several obstacles, he is unable to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, yet the care which he takes to promote facilities for pilgrims to that holy place may be considered equivalent to the pilgrimage.

'From the dawn of his understanding he has always refrained from prohibited meats and practices, and from his great holiness has adopted nothing but that which is pure and lawful. Though he has collected at the foot of his throne those who inspire ravishment in joyous assemblies of pleasure, in the shape of singers who possess lovely voices and clever instrumental performers, and in the commencement of his reign sometimes used to hear them sing and play, and though he himself understands music well, yet now for several years past, on account of his great restraint and self denial, and observance of the tenets of the great Imām (Shafi'i), (may God's mercy be on him!), he entirely abstains from this amusement. If any of the singers and musicians becomes ashamed of his calling, he makes an allowance for him or grants him land for his maintenance.

'He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he even use vessels of silver or gold......In consideration of their rank and merit he shows much honour and respect to the Saiyids, saints and learned men, and through his cordial and liberal exertions, the sublime doctrines of Hanifa and of our pure religion have obtained such prevalence throughout the wide territories of Hindustan as they never had in the reign of any former king.

'Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding Public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty personally teaches the sacred *kalima* to many infidels with success, and invests them with the *khilats* and other favours. Alms and donations are given by this foundation of generosity in such abundance, that the emperors of past ages did not give even a hundredth part of the amount. In the sacred month of *Ramzān* sixty-thousand rupees, and in other months less than that amount, are distributed among the poor. Several eating-houses have been established in the capital and other cities at which food is served out to the helpless and poor, and in places where there were no caravanserais for the lodging of the travellers, they have been built by the Emperor. All the mosques in the empire are repaired at public expense. Imāms, criers to the daily prayers, and readers of the *khutba*, have been appointed to each of them, so that a large sum of money has been and is still laid out in these disbursements. In all the cities and towns of this extensive country pensions and allowances and lands have been given to learned men and professors, and stipends have been fixed for scholars according to their abilities and qualifications.

'As it is a great object with this Emperor that all Muhammadans should follow the principles of the religion as expounded by the most competent law officers and the followers of the Hanifi persuasion, and as these principles, in consequence of the different opinions of the *kāzis* and *muftis* which have been delivered without any authority, could not be distinctly and clearly learnt, and as there was no book which embodied them all, and as until many books had been collected and a man had obtained sufficient leisure, means and knowledge of theological subjects, he could not satisfy his enquiries on any disputed point, therefore His Majesty, the protector of the faith, determined that a body of eminently learned and able men of Hindustan should take up the voluminous and most trustworthy works which were collected in the royal library, and having made a digest of them, compose a book which might form a standard canon of the law, and afford to all an easy and available means of ascertaining the proper and authoritative interpretation. The chief conductor of this difficult undertaking was the most learned man of the time, Shaikh Nizām, and all the members of the society were very handsomely and liberally paid, so that up to the present time a sum of 200,000 rupees has been expended in this valuable compilation, which contains more than 100,000 lines. When the work (*Fatwā-i Alamgīrī*) with God's pleasure, is completed, it will be for all the world the standard exposition of the law, and render every one independent of Muhammadan doctors. Another excellence attending this design is, that, with a view to afford facility to all, the possessor of perfections, Chulpi Abdullah son of the great and the most celebrated Maulāna Abdu-l Hakim of

Siakot, and his several pupils have been ordered to translate the work into Persian.......

'The Emperor is perfectly acquainted with the commentaries, traditions and law. He always studies the compilations of the great Imām Muhammad Ghizali (may God's mercy be on him !), the extracts from the writings of Shaikh Sharaf Yahya Muniri (may his tomb be sanctified !), and the works of Muhi Shirāzi, and other similar books. One of the greatest excellences of this virtuous monarch is, that he has learnt the *Qurān* by heart. Though in his early youth he had committed to memory some chapters of that sacred book, yet he learnt the whole by heart after ascending the throne. He took great pains and showed much perserverance in impressing it upon his mind. He writes a very good *Naskh* hand, and has acquired perfection in this art. He has written two copies of the holy book with his own hand, and having finished and adorned them with ornaments and marginal lines, at the expense of 7,000 rupees, he sent them to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. He also wrote an excellent *Nastalik* and *Shikastah* hand. He is a very elegant writer in prose, and has acquired proficiency in versification, but agreeably to the words of God—"Poets deal in falsehoods"—he abstains from practising it. He does not like to hear verses except those which contain a moral. "To please Almighty God he never turned his eye towards a flatterer, nor gave his ear to a poet."

'The Emperor has given a very liberal education to his fortunate and noble children, who, by virtue of his attention and care, have reached to the summit of perfection, and made great advances in rectitude, devotion, and piety, and in learning the manners and customs of princes and great men. Through his instructions they have learnt the book of God by heart, obtained proficiency in the sciences and polite literature, writing the various hands, and in learning the Turki and the Persian languages.

'In like manner, the ladies of the household also, according to his orders, have learnt the fundamental and necessary tenets of religion, and all devote their time to the adoration and worship of the Deity, to reading the sacred *Qurān*, and performing virtuous and pious acts. *The excellence of character and the purity of morals of this holy monarch are beyond all expression.* As long as nature nourishes the tree of existence, and keeps the garden of the world fresh, may the plant of the prosperity of this preserver of the garden of dignity and honour continue fruitful !'[1]

This eulogium, fulsome as it may appear, from a strictly Muslim view-point, was not altogether undeserved by Aurangzeb. "It is not," as Lane-Poole properly observes, "more adulatory than Bernier's letter to Colbert of the same period....There is nothing in the portrait which is inconsistent with the whole tenor of Aurangzib's career or with the testimony of European eye-witnesses. Exagge-

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 156-62.

rated as it must seem to a western reader, the Indian historian's picture of his revered Emperor does not present a single touch which cannot be traced in the writings of contemporary French and English travellers, and in the statements of other native chroniclers who were less under the influence of the sitter for the portrait. Dr. Careri draws a precisely similar picture of the Emperor as he was in his old age in 1695."[1]

If Aurangzeb had shared the eclecticism or liberal outlook of his forefathers, he would have strengthened instead of undermining the foundations of the Empire. He was more Hindu in blood than any of them had been; but his Islamic conscience rebelled against all the traditions created by them in India. "For the first time in their history the Mughals beheld a rigid Muslim in their Emperor —a Muslim as sternly repressive of himself as of his people around him, *a king who was prepared to stake his throne for the sake of the faith*......He was no youthful enthusiast when he ascended the throne of Delhi, but a ripe man of forty, deeply experienced in the policies and prejudices of the various sections of his subjects. He must have been fully conscious of the dangerous path he was pursuing, and well aware that to run a-tilt against every Hindu sentiment, to alienate his Persian adherents, the flower of his general staff, by deliberate opposition to their cherished ideas, and to disgust his nobles by suppressing the luxury of a jovial court, was to invite revolution. Yet he chose this course, and adhered to this with unbending resolve through close on fifty years of unchallenged sovereignty. The flame of religious zeal blazed as hotly in his soul when he lay dying among the ruins of his Grand Army of the Deccan, an old man on the verge of ninety, as when, in the same fatal province, but then a youth in the springtime of life, he had thrown off the purple of viceregal state and adopted the mean garb of a mendicant fakir."[2]

The Ruin of Aurangzeb.

A sense of failure, defeat, and despair came over Aurangzeb in his closing years. His pathetic letters to his sons, cited already, breathe regret and disappointment; there is also in them a note of uncertainty and disillusionment. But in his lifetime he had no misgivings as to his goal; he had pursued what he considered to be

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 66-69. See "Ideals of Mughal Sovereigns" by Banarsi Prasad Saxena in J. U. P. H. S., XIV, pt. 1, July 1941.
2. Lane-Poole, loc. cit., p. 70.

his God-appointed task, relentlessly and with great zest. He sought to convert *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of infidelity) into *Dar-ul-Islām* (land of the true faith). It was ostensibly for this that he dethroned his father, murdered his brothers, exiled his son Akbar, antagonised the Rajputs, Jāts, Sikhs, and Marathas, suppressed the two Shia kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, levied the *jiziya*, forbade the writing of court-chronicles, banished music, changed the calendar to the orthodox lunar system (in place of the solar innovations), discontinued the *Nauroz* celebrations and anniversary-weighings of the Emperor against gold, silver, etc. and substituted true Hanifi Muslims in place of Hindus, Shias, and other infidels and heretics in his service wherever he could. Some of his measures were really good, such as the condemnation of *bhāng*, prohibition of liquor and gambling, forbidding of *sati*, banning of obscenities in the celebration of *Holi* and the compulsion of public women to choose between marriage and exile, etc. But what enraged large masses of his subjects was the whole-sale destruction of places of worship, exaction of invidious taxes like the *jiziya* and extra-customs duties from Hindus, and their humiliation, not merely by dismissal from high service, but also by prohibition against riding on good horses, wearing of good dresses, etc. These were not the acts of a righteous ruler or a constructive statesman, but the outbursts of blind fanaticism, unworthy of the great genius that Aurangzeb undoubtedly possessed in all other respects. Nor does any religion demand from its most devoted votaries the savage treatment that Aurangzeb needlessly meted out to his father and brothers. The fact is that, apart from his natural propensity and zeal for religion (Islām?), Aurangzeb —or better Alamgīr, the "world-grasper," also possessed a certain strong machiavellian trait in his character which made him believe:

> 'How vain is virtue, which directs our ways
> Through certain danger to uncertain praise!
> Barren, and airy name! the fortune flies,
> With thy lean train, the pious and the wise....
> *The world is made for the bold impious man,*
> *Who stops at nothing, seizes all he can.*
> Justice to merit does weak aid afford;
> She trusts her balance, and neglects her sword.
> Virtue is nice to take what's not her own;
> And while she long consults, the prize is gone!'[1]

1. Dryden, *Aurang-Zebe.*

This is the key to his puzzling character which led his European contemporaries to suspect him a dissembling consummate villain. Bernier, as we have already pointed out, speaks of him as "reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation." He further amplifies, "When at his father's Court, he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely endeavouring to pave the way to future elevation. Even when nominated Viceroy of the Deccan, he caused it to be believed that his feelings would be better gratified if permitted to turn *fakir*, that is to say, a beggar, a Darwish, or one who had renounced the world; that the wish nearest his heart was to pass the rest of his days in prayer or in offices of piety, and that he shrank from the cares and responsibility of government. Still his life has been one of undeviating intrigue and contrivance; conducted, however, with such admirable skill, that every person in the Court, excepting only his brother Dara, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character."[1] Tavernier, likewise, wrote, "Aurangzib especially shows great zeal for the Sunni sect, of which he is a faithful follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in *external observation of the law, which has been the veil by means of which he has concealed his usurpation of the kingdom*...... To show himself still more zealous for the law he became a *Dervish* or *Fakir*,......and *under this false mantle of piety made his way cleverly to the Empire*."[2]

At least two of his contemporaries warned Aurangzeb of the consequences of his purblind policy—their motives we need not discuss here; but, in the nature of things, they could expect no response. His rebellious son Akbar wrote the strongest indictment of Aurangzeb's rule ever penned by critic:

> "Verily, the guide and teacher of this path [of rebellion against a reigning father] is Your Majesty; others are merely following your footsteps. How can the path which Your Majesty himself chose to follow be called 'the path of ill-luck?
>
> My father bartered away the garden of Eden
> for two grains of wheat;
> I shall be an unworthy son if I do not sell it
> for a grain of barley!
> Hail, centre of the worlds, spiritual and temporal!

1. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 10.
2. Tavernier, *Travels*, I, p. 177.

Men draw hardship and labour of themselves......
[Then follows a vindication of the Rajputs.]

"Former emperors like Akbar had contracted alliance and kinship with this race and conquered the realm of Hindustan with *their* help.... This is the race who, when Your Majesty was adorning the throne at Delhi, and the Rajputs [there] did not number more than three hundred men, performed heroic deeds, whose narrative is manifest to the age; such heroism and victory [were theirs] as the commanders of the age have not heard of......Blessings be on this race's fidelity to salt, who, without hesitation in giving up their lives for their master's sons, have done such deeds of heroism that for three years the Emperor of India, his mighty sons, famous ministers and high grandees have been moving in distraction [against them], *though this is only the beginning of the contests.*

"And why should it not be so, seeing that in Your Majesty's reign the ministers have no power, the nobles enjoy no trust, the soldiers are wretchedly poor, the writers are without employment, the traders are without means, and the peasantry are down-trodden? So, too, the kingdom of the Deccan which is a spacious country and a paradise on earth, has become desolate and ruined like a hill or desert; and the city of Burhānpur,—a mole of beauty on the cheek on earth,—has become ruined and plundered; the city of Aurangābad, glorified by connection with Your Majesty's name, is perturbed like quicksilver at the shock and injury given by the enemy's armies.

"*On the Hindu tribes two calamities have descended,* (first) the exaction of the *jiziya* in the town and (second) the oppression of the enemy in the country. When such sufferings have come down upon the heads of the people from all sides, why should they not fail to pray for or thank their ruler? Men of high extraction and pure breed belonging to ancient families, have disappeared and the offices and departments of Your Majesty's government and the function of Your counselling on the affairs of the State, are in the hands of mechanics, low people and rascals, —like weavers, soap-vendors and tailors. These men, carrying the broad cloaks of fraud under their arms, and the snare of fraud and trickery, (*to wit, the rosary*) in their hands, *roll on their tongues certain traditions and religious maxims.* Your Majesty trusts these confidants, counsellors and companions as if they were Gabriel and Michael, and places yourself helplessly under their control. And these men, showing wheat (as samples) but selling barley, by such pretexts make grass appear as a hill and a hill as grass [to you].

In the reign of King Alamgīr, the Holy Warrior,
Soap-vendors have become Sadar and Qāzi!....
Low people have gained so much power
That cultured persons have to seek shelter at their doors!....
God protect us from this calamitous age,
In which the ass kicks at the Arab steed!

The supreme magistrate is [vainly] treading on the wind,
While justice has become [as rare] as the phoenix itself!

"The clerks and officers of State have taken to the practice of traders, and are buying posts with gold and selling them for shameful considerations. Every one who eats salt destroys the salt-cellar. *The day seems near when the palace of the State would be cracked.*

"When I beheld this to be the state of affairs [in the realm] and saw no possibility of Your Majesty's character being reformed, kingly spirits urged me to cleanse the realm of Hindustan of the brambles and weeds (viz., oppressors and lawless men), to promote men of learning and culture, and to destroy the foundations of tyranny and meanness....

'Hitherto Your Majesty has spent all Your life in the quest of things of this world—which are even more false than dreams, and even less constant than shadows. Now is the proper time for You to lay in provisions for the next life, in order to atone for Your former deeds, done out of greed for this transitory world against Your august father and noble brothers in the days of Your youth.

O! thou art past eighty years and art still asleep!
Thou wilt not get more than these few days."[1]

The whole letter sounds insolent and, doubtless, is guilty of exaggerations, but in its main charge quite true and wonderfully prophetic. Similar in import and appeal, but certainly more dignified in its tone and sincere in its fervour, is Shivāji's letter to Aurangzeb, addresssed to him after the Agra adventure.

"To the Emperor Alamgīr—

"This firm and constant well-wisher Shivaji, after rendering thanks for the grace of God and the favours of the Emperor which are clearer than the Sun, begs to inform Your Majesty that—....

"It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied your treasury, Your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of *jiziya* should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please Your Majesty! That architect of the fabric of empire [Jalāl-uddin] Akbar Pādishāh, reigned with full power for 52 [lunar] years. He adopted the admirable policy of universal harmony (*sulh-i-kul*) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dādu's followers, sky-worshippers (*falakia*),*malakia*, materialists (*ansaria*), atheists (*daharia*) Brahmans and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all the people. So, he became famous under the title of *Jagat-Guru*, 'the World's spiritual Guide.'

"Next, the Emperor Nuruddin Jahāngīr for 22 years spread his gracious shade on the head of the world and its dwellers, gave his heart

1. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 100-105.

to his friends and his hand to his work, and gained his desires. The Emperor Shāh Jahān for 32 years cast his blessed shade on the head of the world and gathered the fruit of eternal life, which is only a synonym for goodness and fair fame, as the result of his happy time on earth.

> He who lives with a good name gains everlasting wealth,
> Because after his death, the recital of his good deeds
> keeps his name alive.

"Through the auspicious effect of this sublime disposition, wherever he [Akbar] bent the glance of his august wish, Victory and Success advanced to welcome him on the way. In his reign many kingdoms and forts were conquered [by him]. The state and power of these Emperors can be easily understood from the fact *Alamgīr Pādishāh has failed and become distracted in the attempt to merely follow their political system.* They, too, had the power of levying the *jiziya;* but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men, high and low, created by God to be [living] examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their kindness and benevolence endure on the pages of time as their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these [three] pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intentions. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures reposed in the cradle of peace and safety [under the rule], and their undertakings succeeded.

"*But in Your Majesty's reign,* many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, and the rest will soon do so too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. Your peasants are down-trodden; the yield of every village has declined, in the place of one *lakh* [of Rupees] only one thousand, in the place of a thousand only ten are collected, and that too with difficulty. When poverty and beggary have made their homes in the palaces of the Emperor and the Princes, the condition of the Grandees and officers can be easily imagined. It is a reign in which the army is in a ferment, the merchants complain, the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled, most men lack bread at night and in the day inflame their own cheeks by slapping them [in anguish]. How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the *jiziya* to this grievous state of things? The infamy will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that the Emperor of Hindusthan, coveting the beggar's bowls, takes *jiziya* from Brahmans and Jain monks, *yogis, sannyāsis, bairāgis,* paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches, and the famine-stricken—that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars, that he dashes down to the ground the name and honour of the Timurids!

"May it please Your Majesty! If you believe in the true Divine Book and Word of God (i.e. the *Qurān*), you will find there [that God is styled] *Rabbi-ul-alamin,* the Lord of all men, and not *Rabb-ul-musalmin,* the Lord of the Muhammadans only. Verily, Islam and Hinduism

are terms of contrast. They are [diverse pigments] used by the true Divine Painter for blending the colours and filling in the outlines [of His picture of the entire human species]. If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him only. To show bigotry for any man's creed and practices is equivalent to altering the words of the Holy Book. To draw new lines on a picture is equivalent to finding fault with the painter ......

"In strict justice the *jiziya* is not at all lawful. From the political point of view it will be allowable only if a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one province to another without fear of molestation. [But] in these days even the cities are being plundered, what shall I say of the open country? Apart from its injustice, this imposition of the *jiziya* is an innovation in India and inexpedient.

"If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorising the Hindus, you ought first to levy the *jiziya* from Rāna Rāj Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit. I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you of the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw! May the sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness."[1]

Ages earlier, if Hindu traditions are to be trusted, wiser counsels had been lavished upon another ruler of Delhi (*Hastināpura*),— viz., *Dhrita-rāshtra* (Pillar of State) stricken with a fatal blindness and at the mercy of his avaricious sons, chief among whom was *Duryodhana* of evil mind. Shri Krishna, 'with sweet and soft persuasion,' addressed him thus :—

"Listen mighty Dhrita-rāshtra, Kuru's great and ancient king,
Seek not war and death of kinsmen, word of peace and love I bring!......
For thy sons in impious anger seek to do their kinsmen wrong,
And without the throne and kingdom which by right to them belong,
And a danger thus ariseth like the comet's baleful fire,
Slaughtered kinsmen, bleeding nations, soon shall feed its fatal ire!
Stretch thy hands, O Kuru monarch! prove thy truth and holy grace,
Man of peace! avert the slaughter and preserve thy ancient race,......
'Tis thy profit, Kuru monarch! that the fatal feuds should cease,
Brave Duryodhan, good Yudhishthir, rule in unmolested peace,

1. Sarkar. *History of Aurangzib,* III, pp. 325-29.

Pandu's sons are strong in valour, mighty in their armed hand,
Indra shall not shake thy empire when they guard Kuru land !..
Who shall then contest thy prowess from the sea to farthest sea.
Ruler of a world-wide empire, *King of kings and nations free?*
Sons and grandsons, friends and kinsmen, will surround thee in
a ring.
And a race of loving heroes guard their ancient hero-king,
Dhrita-rāshtra's lofty edicts will proclaim his boundless sway,
Nations work his righteous mandates and the kings his will obey!
If this concord be rejected and the lust of war prevail,
Soon within these ancient chambers will resound the sound of wail,.......
Father of a righteous nation ! Save the princes of the land,
On the armed and fated nations stretch, old man, thy saving hand !......
Slaughter not the armed nations, slaughter not thy kith and kin,
Mark not, king, thy closing winters, with the bloody stain of sin,
Let thy sons and Pandu's children stand beside thy ancient throne,
Cherish peace and cherish virtue, for thy days are almost done!"

Alamgīr *the world grasper's* reply to all the claims of reason and statesmanship was as blind and blunt as that of *Dhrita-rashtra's* unrelenting sons. He was learned, too, and could quote Sa'di, emphatically exclaiming,—

"*Cease to be kings! Oh, cease to be Kings!*
Or determine that your dominions shall be governed only by yourselves."

Aurangzeb was thereby sowing the dragon's teeth ; but he never thought of the future. With Louis XV he only exclaimed : "After me the deluge"—"*Az-ma-ast hamah fasad baqi*"!

Mr. Pringle Kennedy wisely observes, "What Akbar had gained, what Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān with all their vices had retained, he (Aurangzeb) lost, viz., the affection of his Hindu subjects. That this can be acquired for a Muhammadan ruler without doing injustice to his co-religionists has been shown over and over again in Indian History. And no power that has not acquired the confidence of the Hindu community can be expected to last in India. Intolerance in Aurangzeb's time meant intolerance in religious matters, but intolerance can, and at the present day often does, extend to matters not religious. Impatience at opposition, a belief that no one can be right save oneself, a feeling of contempt for all that does not tally with one's own ideas, all these are a form of intolerance and one that at times can be seen in the statesmen of the present

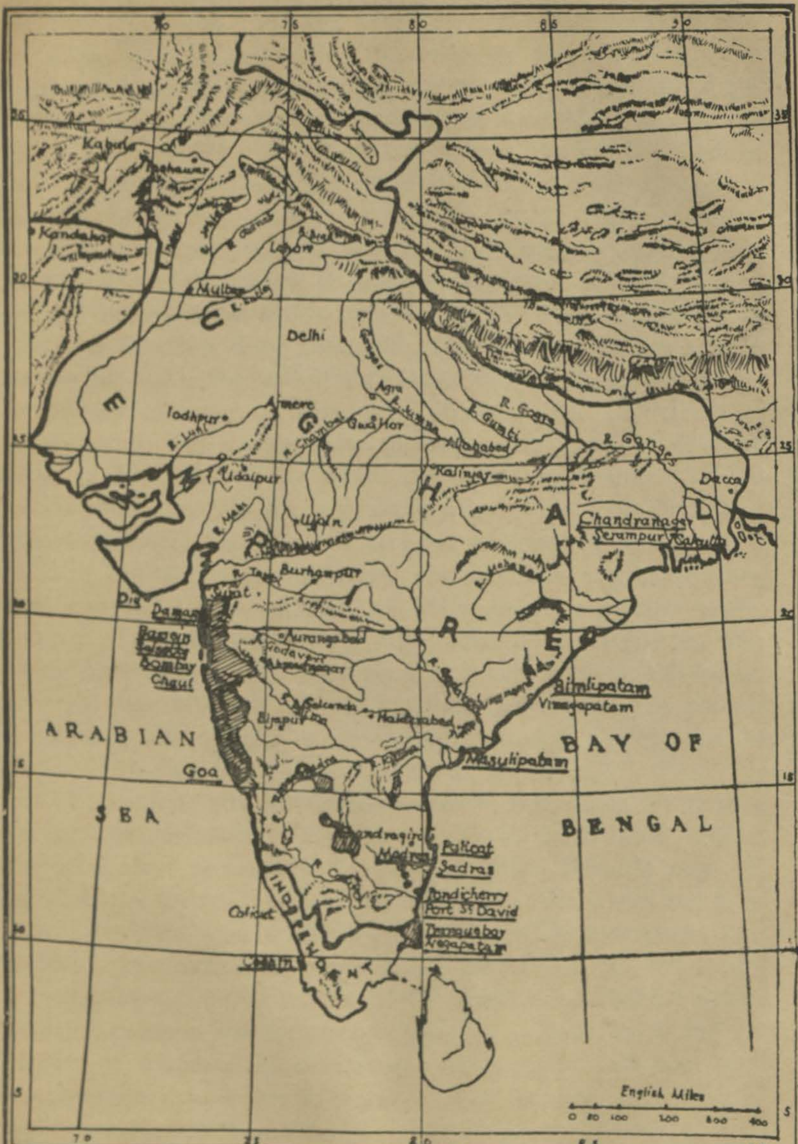
days. But the warning of history stands ever there, so that he who runs may read : *The English won India by pursuing the methods of Akbar, let them not lose it by imitating those of Aurangzeb.*"[1]

WASTED OPPORTUNITY

It is vain to speculate what might have been if Aurangzeb had not been a fanatical *Namāzi* (as his latitudinarian brother Dārā called him), if he had befriended the Rajputs instead of alienating them, if he had not antagonised the Sikhs, Satnāmis, Jāts, and other sections of his non-Muslim subjects, and above all, if he had not roused the Marathas to deadly combat, and had won the sympathy and support of the Shia kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur, etc. etc. But when we remember Aurangzeb's unquestionable merits, his administrative abilities, his benevolent intentions regarding the welfare of the peasants and Muslim subjects, his tireless energy, and his sense of the responsibilities of a monarch, we cannot help sighing with the repentant Emperor crying from his death-bed : "*I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry. Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing,. . . . and of the future there is no hope.*"[2]

Our regret is rendered all the more acute when we turn our eyes to the successful administration of parts of his vast dominion, like Bengal under Shayista Khān and Konkan under Matabar Khān. The latter was a *Navāyat Sayyid* of Kalyān, first employed as a *thānādār* in the Nasik District. He first distinguished himself in 1688, "by his enterprising spirit and far-sightedness." He enlisted a strong infantry force of local hillmen to fight the Marathas. After the fall of Sambhāji, it was on account of him that all North Konkan from Surat to Bombay passed into Mughal hands. "Most parts of the district had been ruined by twenty years of Maratha predominance and frequent warfare. He established Mughal rule over them, restored order, and planted colonies of peasants so as to revive their cultivation and prosperity....The news-letters of Aurangzib's Court contain many examples of Matabar's vigilant care for his charge, his strict maintenance of efficiency in the administration, and his assistance to the Siddi chief of Janjira in the military operations for upholding the imperial power. Death overtook this able and faithful servant at the end of February 1704."[3]

1. Kennedy, *The History of the Great Moghuls*, II, pp. 155-56.
2. Letter to Azam, already cited.
3. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 352-53.



Sketch by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

THE EMPIRE UNDER AURANGZEB

Shayista Khān's administration of Bengal was equally successful and prosperous. His first viceroyalty of Bengal extended over 14 years (1664-77). "During this unusually long period of office in our province, he first ensured the safety of the Bengal rivers and sea-board by destroying the pirates' nest at Chatgaon, won over the Feringi pirates and settled them near Dacca. His internal administration was equally mild and beneficent. He immediately stopped the resumption by the State of the old rent-free lands which the local officers had begun during the inter-regnum following Mīr Jumla's death. Every day he held open Court for administration of justice and redressed wrongs very promptly. This he regarded as his most important duty. Shayista Khān restored absolute freedom of buying and selling, and also abolished two illegal exactions of his predecessors, namely, a tax of one-fortieth (*zakāt*) on the income of merchants and travellers, and an excise duty (*hasil*) from every class of artificers and tradesmen, the latter tax yielding 15 lakhs of Rupees a year in his own jāgīrs alone. The long interval of peace secured by his arms to Bengal was employed by him in adorning his capital Dacca with many fine buildings and constructing *sarais* all over the country. On the whole, he was a generous nobleman of the grand old style. . . . His second term covered the nine years from 1680 to 1688 ; the most noticeable event of this period was the war with the E. I. Co., already described. The popular tradition is that, during his governorship, rice sold in Bengal at the incredibly cheap rate of eight maunds to the Rupee."[1]

That the country possessed able rulers even among the enemies of the Mughal Empire is illustrated by the career of Bakht Buland, the rebel chief of Gondwana. "During Bakht Buland's reign the rich lands of the south of Deogarh, between the Wainganga and Kanhan rivers, were steadily developed. Hindu and Muhammadan cultivators were encouraged to settle in them on equal terms with Gonds, until this region became most prosperous.' Industrial settlers from all quarters were attracted to Gondwana, many towns and villages were founded, and agriculture, manufactures, and even commerce made considerable advances."[2] But the best illustration of administrative talent outside the Empire is that of Shivāji.

"It is commonly believed," writes Prof. S. N. Sen, "that this

1. Ibid., pp. 420-21.
2. Ibid., pp. 432-33.

vast empire (whose foundations were laid by Shivāji) existed merely by plunder and robbery. An eminent English writer has described the Maratha generals as 'robbers, plunderers and scoundrels.' *But it is very difficult to understand how an empire could last for over a century and half by robbery and plunder alone, unless it had a surer and firmer basis of good government*."[1] This is not the place to describe in details the splendid government set up by Shivāji. We must content ourselves here with reminding the reader of the tribute paid to him by Sir Jadunath Sarkar the historian of Aurangzeb's reign :—" The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of scattered Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people. . . .No other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times. . . .He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth."[2]

Aurangzeb could easily have become an '*Ornament to the throne*' (as indeed his name signified), had he not spent his dynamic energy and genius in channels destructive to both himself and the Empire that was his glorious heritage. Instead, he set himself the vain task of becoming *Alamgir* or '*world-grasper*' and was content to be *Zinda Pir* or '*living saint*' to his orthodox Muslim contemporaries. He also set to posterity a purplexing puzzle in the strange compound of his character : " Aurangzib's life had been a vast failure, indeed," as Lane-Poole observes, " but he had failed grandly . . . .His glory is for himself alone. . . .To his great empire his devoted zeal was an unmitigated curse."[3]

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1. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, Preface to the 1st ed., p. 8.

2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 240.

3. Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, pp. 204-5. The same writer has also observed, " Aurangzib has experienced the fate of his great contemporary, Cromwell, whom he resembled in many features of the soul. He has had his Ludlow among his biographers, and his Baxter, with their theories of selfish ambition and virtue vitiated by success ; he has also been slavered with the panegyrics of Muhammadan Flecknoes and Dawbeneys. These opposite views, however, are less contradictory than might be supposed. They merely represent the difference between Christian bigotry and Muhammadan bigotry. . . . . .They did not understand the nature of the religion which could be honestly professed by such a man as Aurangzib, any more than the royalists of the Restoration could discover in the ambitious regicide the sincere Christian that Cromwell really was. . . . Like Cromwell, he (Aurangzib) may not have been 'a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things, but he undoubtedly put himself forth for the cause of God, like the great Protector, a mean instrument to do God's people some good, and God service.'—Ibid., pp. 60-61, 64.

GENEALOGY OF THE LATER MUGHALS

ALAMGIR

- M. Sultān (executed 1676)
- Muazzam *Bahādur Shāh* I (1) or *Shāh Alam* I (acc. 1707; d. 1712)
    - (2) *Jahāndar Shāh* (acc. 1712; murdered 1713)
        - (10) *Alamgir* II (acc. 1754; murdered 1759)
            - (11) *Shāh Alam* II (acc. 1759; d. 1806)
                - (12) *Akbar* II (acc. 1806; d. 1837)
                    - (13) *Bahādur Shāh* II (acc. 1837; deposed 1857)
    - *Azimu-sh Shān* (d. in battle)
        - (3) *Farrukh-siyar* (acc. 1713; murdered 1719)
    - Rafiu-sh Shān d. in battle)
        - (6) *Rafiu-d Daulat* (acc. & d. 1719)
        - (4) *Rafiu-d Darjat* (acc. & d. 1719)
        - (8) *M. Ibrahim* crowned for a month, as *Shāh Jahān* II 1720)
    - Jahān Shāh (d. in battle)
        - (7) *Muhammad Shāh* (acc. 1719; d. 1748)
            - (9) *Ahmad Shāh* (acc. 1748; deposed 1754)
- M. Azam (d. at Jājau, 1707)
    - Bedar Bakht (d. at Jājau) 1707)
- M. Akbar (d. in Persia 1704)
    - (5) *Neku siyar* (acc. & d. 1719)
- M. Khān Bakhsh (d. at Hyderabad, 1709)

AUTHORITIES*

A. PRIMARY :—1. *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb* by Khāfī Khān, already cited, continues the story up to the beginning of the 14th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign. In the reign of Farrukh-siyar, the author was made a *dīwān* by Nizāmu-l Mulk, and "writes with interest and favour in all that concerns that chief. For this reason he is sometimes designed *Nizāmu-l Mulki.*" Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 387-531.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Ira'dat Khān* by Mīr Mubārakullah Iradat Khān Wāza, whose grand-father and father had held important offices under Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, respectively. Iradat Khan was a *faujdār* under Aurangzeb, and *governor* of the Doab under Bahādur Shāh. He died in the reign of Farrukh-siyar. Dowson observes, "This is a good history of the Mughal Empire from the close of Aurangzeb's reign to the commencement of Farrukh Siyar's. It has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott. . . . The book is written in a plain straight-forward style, and it never wanders beyond the sphere of the author's own observation ; but it is full of spirit, and has all the vigour and vividness of a personal narrative." 'As I was a sharer as well as a spectator of all the dangers and troubles,' Iradat Khān himself writes, 'I have therefore recorded them. My intention, however, not being to compile a history of the kings or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened in my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend writing to a friend would use, for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is *consulted, loftiness of style is unfit for plain truth which, pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation.*'—E. &. D., op. cit., VII, 536-64.

3. *'Ibrat-Nāma* by Muhammad Kāsim, also called *Tārīkh-i Bahādur-Shāhi,* "is a well written history," commencing with the

* The principal *Authorities* for the remaining chapters, excepting only the last, have all been given here together. The reader will bear in mind, with increasing complexity, it is impossible to be exhaustive. Other sources may be traced in the works here cited.

death of Aurangzeb, and closing with the death of *Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid Abdu-llah.* Extracts relating to the great Saiyids of Barha, whose dependent the author was, are given in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 571-73.

4. *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* of Muhammad Hádí Kámwar Khān sometimes called *Tārīkh-i Chaghatai,* is a general history of the Mughals, closing with the 7th year of Muhammad Shāh, A.H. 1137 (1724 A.D.). The author held important offices under Bahādur Shāh, and "was in a position to know what was going on; and the apparently straight-forward manner in which he has written his history inspires the confidence of the reader." Extract relating to the situation at the death of Bahādur Shāh in E. &. D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 19-20.

5. *Tārīkh-i Chaghatai* of Muhammad Shāfī, Teharani, not to be confused with the above work of the same name, "is written in an elegant, but somewhat difficult style." It begins with Bābur and concludes with the withdrawal of Nādir Shāh in 1739. The work closes with the following interesting observation :—

'After the departure of Nādir Shāh, a Royal Order was issued to the following effect : "All public officers should occupy themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, *except the historians.* These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a pleasant one. *The reins of Imperial or Supreme Government have fallen from my hands. I am now the Viceroy of Nādir Shāh.*" Notwithstanding that the nobles and great officers of the Court, hearing these melancholy reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommended him to withdraw this order, His Majesty would not be satisfied. Consequently, being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate, and laid down their pens.' Extracts, ibid., pp. 22-24.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Hindi* of Rustom Ali was composed in the year 1154, A.H. (1741-42 A.D.). It closes with the 24th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign. "It may be considered altogether a useful compilation, writes Dowson, 'as it is not copied verbatim from known authors and in the latter part of it the author writes of many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends." His object in composing the work is stated by the author to have been a desire to commit to writing a brief account of just kings, and how they controlled oppressors and tyrants, in the hope that,

while it might prove a lesson to the wise, it would not fail to draw the attention of intelligent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures, and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world. Extracts, ibid., pp. 42-69.

7. *Jauhar-i-Samsām* of Muhammad Mushin Sádik-í, closing with the departure of Nādir Shāh, is useful for a description of the anarchy of the times, though "it is written in a very ambitious extravagant style with a great tendency to exaggeration." Extracts, ibid., pp. 73-5.

8. *Tazkira* of Ānand Rām Mukhlis is invaluable for its account of Nādir Shāh's invasion. "The author was an eye-witness of much that passed during Nādir Shāh's stay in India, and suffered from his exactions." Extracts, ibid., pp. 76-98.

9. *Tārīkh-i Ahmad Shāh*, anonymous, "terminates abruptly about six months before the deposition of Ahmad in 1754 A.H." Gives a good account of the anarchy of the time. Extracts, ibid., pp. 104-23.

10. *Bayan-i Waki* of Khwaja 'Abdu-l Karim Khān, "contains a very full account of the proceedings of Nādir Shāh in India, and of the reigns of Muhammad Shāh and Ahmad Shāh." Extracts, ibid., pp. 126-39.

11. *Tārīkh-i-Alamgīr-Sāni-*, anonymous, "begins with the accession of the Emperor, and terminates at his death, recounting all the events of the reign very fully, and in plain language." Extracts, ibid., pp. 140-43.

12. *Tārīkh-i Manāzilu-l Futuh* of Muhammad Jáfar Shamlu is the account of an eye-witness of the battle of Pānīpat and the events leading thereto. The author states that 'during the prime of life' and 'for the space of five-and-twenty years, he was constantly with Ahmad Sultān Abdāli, more commonly styled Durrāni, and having accompanied him several times to Hindustan, became well acquainted with the whole series of royal marches from the city of Kandahar to the metropolis of Shāh-Jahānābād. At the battle which was fought at Pānīpat with Wishwās Rao and his deputy Bhāo, the author was himself present on the field, and witnessed the circumstances with his own eyes. Other particulars too, he learnt from persons of credit and sagacity, and having written them down without any alteration, designated the work by the title of *Manâzilu-l Futúh*, or Victorious Marches.' Extracts, ibid., pp. 145-57.

13. *Farhātun Nāzirin* of Muhammad Aslam was concluded in the year 1184 A.H. (1770-1 A.D.). "This History is somewhat ambitious in style, but of no value for its contents." It deals with the Durrāni invasion and of Alamgīr II and Shāh Alam II. Extracts, ibid., pp. 166-74.

14. *Siyaru-l Muta-akhirin* ("Review of Modern Times") or *Siyaru-l Muta-akkhirin* ("Manners of the Moderns") of Ghulām Husain Khān is a general history of India from 1700 to 1786 A.D. "It contains the reigns of the last seven Emperors of Hindustan, an account of the progress of the English in Bengal up to 1781, A.D., and a critical examination of their government and policy in Bengal. The author treats important subjects with a freedom and spirit, and with a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer, and which justly entitles him to pre-eminence among Muhammadan historians." (Dowson). The citations in this book are from Col. Briggs' (Panini office, Allahabad, 1924) translation, entitled *Siyar-ul-Mutākherin.*

15. *'Ibrat-Nāma* of Fakir Khairu-d din Muhammad (Allahabadi). It is mainly the history of the reigns of Alamgīr II and Shāh Alam II. "The history is well written, in simple intelligible language, and deserves more notice than the limits of this work will allow." Extracts, ibid., pp. 238-44.

16. *Tārīkh-i Ibrahim Khān* of Ali Ibrahim Khān was completed at Benares in 1201 A.H. (1786 A.D.). "This work is very valuable for the clear and succinct account it gives of the Marathas." Extracts, ibid., pp. 257-84.

17. *Tārīkh-i Muzaffari* of Muhammad Ali Khān is, according to Dowson, "the most accurate of General Histories of India." The work was composed about 1800 A.D. This is the principal authority on which is based Keene's *Fall of the Moghul Empire.* Extracts, ibid., pp. 257-84.

18. *Nigār-Nāma-i Hind* of Saiyid Ghulām Ali covers the ground traversed by *Tārīkh-i-Ibrahim Khān* but in much greater detail. For the battle of Pānīpat "the author informs us that his authority was a *brahman* of the Dekhin, named Rao Kāshi Rao, who was in the service of Nawāb Shujau-d daula of Oudh, and was present at the interview which the Mahratha envoy Bhawāni Shankar had with him." (Dowson). Extracts, ibid., pp. 398-402.

19. *Kāshi Rāj Pandit's* account of the Pānipat events, as found in Col. James Browne's translation has been edited, with valuable

notes and appendices, by Principal H. G. Rawlinson (O. U. P., 1926). "The literature of this campaign is immense," writes Rawlinson, "and a study of it, even from Marathi documents, would alone occupy a large volume. The Persian sources have yet to be adequately catalogued and examined." In their absence Kāshi Rāj's "is the most detailed account we possess of the battle, and is the work of an eye-witness who evidently desires to give an impartial narrative of what he saw and heard. He had many friends in both armies and he was equally impressed by the gallantry of the Marathas and by the masterly strategy of their opponent, the Abdāli monarch." (Introduction).

20. An equally valuable contemporary account in Persian has been recently translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the pages of the *Islamic Culture* (Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 431-56, July 1933, Hyderabad Deccan). It is entitled, "An Original Account of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni's Campaigns in India and the Battle of Pānīpat"—from the Persian Life of Najib-ud-daulah, (Br. Museum Persian MS. 24, 410).

21. James Fraser's *History of Nādir Shāh*, published in 1742. (Reprint, Panini Office, Allahabad).

B. SECONDARY :—1. *The Fall of the Moghul Empire of Hindustan* by H. G. Keene, New Ed. London, 1887 (Allen).

2. *The Turks in India* (1526-1761) by the same writer, London, 1879 (Allen).

3. *The Fall of the Mogul Empire* by Sidney J. Owen, London, 1912 (Murray).

4. *History of India* by Elphinstone, Bk. XII, pp. 675-753.

5. *Later Mughals* by William Irvine, edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar—Vol. I, 1701-1720 ; Vol. II, 1719-1739. (Calcutta, Sarkar & Sons).

6. *Fall of the Mughal Empire* by Sir J. N. Sarkar, Vol. I, 1739-1754. (Calcutta 1932 Sarkar & Sons) ; Vol. II, 1934.

7. *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* by Sir Edward Maclagan, Ch. VII, pp. 121-43 ; Ch. XII, pp. 181-87.

8. '*Dona Juliana Dias Da Casta*—Her Influence in Later Mughal History' by Rev. Heras, S. J., Bandra, 1929.

9. *Rise of the Peshwās* by H. N. Sinha. Allahabad, 1931 (The Indian Press).

10. *Life and Times of Shivāji* by M. W. and R. G. Burway. Indore, 1932.

11. *A History of the Maratha People* by Kincaid and Parasnis, Vol. II, O. U. P. 1922.

12. *The Main Currents of Maratha History* by G. S. Sardesai, (Calcutta, 1926, Sarkar & Sons).

13. *The Battle of Pānīpat—Its Causes and Consequences,* by the same writer,—The Modern Review for Sept. 1933, pp. 269-74.

14. *The History of the Great Moghuls* by Pringle Kennedy Vol. II, Calcutta 1911 (Thacker Spink & Co.).

15. *A History of the Mogul Rule in India,* (1526-1761) by K. H. Kamdar and R. M. Shah, Baroda 1928. (pp. 189-266)

16. *A History of the Sikhs* by J. D. Cunningham, Calcutta, 1911. (pp. 95-157).

17. "Medicine at the Moghul Court," D. V. S. Reddy in J. I. H. XVII, pt. 2, and XIX, pt. 1. (April 1940)

18. "The Economic History of India—1600-to 1800," Radha Kamal Mukerji, in J. U. P. H. S., XVI, I., July 1943.

19. "Ownership of Agricultural Land during the Muslim Rule in India," I. H. Qureshi, J. I. H., XXI, 3, Dec. 1942, pp. 225-36.

20. "Life and Art in the Mughal Period," H. Goetz, J. U. B., V, 4, Jan. 1937.

21. "Cow Protection in Mughal India," Angelo Moses, J. I. H., XXI, 3, Dec. 1942, pp. 216-20.

22. *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* by Ibn-i-Hasan, O. U. P. 1936. Deals up to 1657.

23. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1526-1658) by P. Saran, Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1941.

24. "Mughal Relations with Persia"—from Babur to Aurangzeb. Series in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad Dn.) 1934-35.

CHAPTER X

SUNSET OF THE EMPIRE

'For generosity, munificence, boundless good nature, extenuation of faults, and forgiveness of offences, very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahādur Shāh in the histories of past times, and especially in the race of Tīmūr. But though he had no vice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the State and in the government and management of the country, that witty sarcastic people found the date of his accession in the words, *Shāhi-i be-Khabr*, "*Heedless King.*" KHĀFĪ KHĀN

The afternoon blaze of Aurangzeb's power had mellowed into a softer glow in the declining years of the aged Emperor. The tedious war in the Deccan had "exhausted his armies and destroyed his prestige, and no sooner was the dominating mind stilled in death than all the forces that he had sternly controlled, all the warring elements that struggled for emancipation from the grinding yoke, broke out in irrepressible tumult. Even before the end of his reign Hindustan was in confusion, and the signs of coming dissolution had appeared. As some imperial corpse, preserved for ages in its dread seclusion, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls into dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the empire of the Moghul when the great name that guarded it was no more. It was as though some splendid palace, reared with infinite skill with all the costliest stones and precious metals of the earth, had attained its perfect beauty only to collapse in undistinguishable ruin when the insidious roots of the creeper sapped the foundations." So writes Lane-Poole. He further adds, "Even had Aurangzib left a successor of his own mental and moral stature, it may be doubted whether the process of disintegration could have been stayed. *The disease was too far advanced for even the heroic surgery.*"[1]

Things were not so hopeless at least during the five years of Bahādur Shāh's rule (1707-1712). We might agree with Keene who states, "As there was a period of consolidation between the first adventure (of Bābur) and the mature glory (of Shāh Jahān), so there was a period of weakness and a lapse between the glory and

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1. *Mediæval India*, pp. 410-11.

the fall......Naturally, the steps from one period to another were not sharply defined to the bystanders, and even now, in looking back upon them, one observes gradations like those by which one colour passes into the next upon a rainbow. The reign of Aurangzeb might appear to have been a time of recovery if it had not been a time of falling ; and the accounts of his death that have been preserved do not show any feelings of despondency as to the *future of his empire* in the mind of the dying despot. *Nor was the character or the position of his successor by any means such as to give rise to any immediate alarm among those well-wishers of the State who survived their sovereign.* The Emperor still gave audience, and redressed grievances, seated on the peacock throne ; and the rulers of all provinces of the peninsula were still either his vassals or his officials."[1]

"But" as the same writer well observes, "the air was full of change."[2] It would not, therefore, be improper to call this reign *the sunset of the Empire* : the sun of Imperial glory was still to sink below the horizon ; if the rays of its power were not piercing and sharp as in the days of Aurangzeb, they had a peculiar charm of their own. Though this moment of passing grandeur was short like a real sunset, few that enjoyed its soothing light thought of the darkness that was to follow.

"The new emperor, in spite of his advancing years," says Keene, "displayed a sumptuousness which caused his court to rival the memory of Shāhjahān's."[3] In the words of Iradat Khān :

'Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal to, if not above, their merits ; so that the public forgot the excellences and great qualities of Aurangzeb, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor....His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shāh Jahān. Seventeen Princes, his sons, grandsons and nephews, sat generally round his throne......Behind the royal Princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Sikandar Ali Shāh of Bijapur, and Kutb Shāh, King of Golkonda; also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails ....On the *ids* and other festivals, His Majesty, with his own hands, gave the *betel* and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours were truly royal....In the early part of the evening he had generally an assembly of the religious

1. Keene, *The Turks in India*, pp. 170-71.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 178.

or learned men....He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account some overstrict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the ignorance of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the sun how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points.' The writer concludes: 'But how can I enumerate all his perfections. It would fill volumes to recite but a small part, therefore I will desist.'[1]

Tod, the historian of Rājasthān, is equally encomiastic, saying that the Emperor Bahādur Shāh had many qualities that endeared him to the Rajputs. He was also of opinion that "had he immediately succeeded the beneficent Shāhjahān, the House of Taimūr, in all human probability, would have been still enthroned at Delhi." The bigotry of Aurangzeb spoilt the opportunities of this Emperor, who like Shāh Jahān was "almost a pure Hindu." Keene adds, "Had Aurangzeb succeeded Akbar he would have done less mischief; had Bahādur Shāh succeeded Shāhjahān he would have postponed the catastrophe. As things happened (however) the carefulness of the one was as fatal as the levity of the other; and *the qualities of each combined in unhappy co-operation, like two compounds whose chemical union makes a deadly poison.*"[2]

We might divide the present chapter under the following heads: —I. Personal History of Bahādur Shāh; II. Relations with the Rajputs; III. Relations with the Marathas; IV. Relations with the Sikhs; and V. Conclusion.

I. PERSONAL HISTORY

Antecedents.

Muhammad Muazzam, the second son of Aurangzeb, was styled *Shāh Alam* in his father's lifetime. He was born at Burhānpur on 30th *Rajab* 1053 A.H. (14th Oct. 1643). His mother was Nawāb Bāi, daughter of Rājah Rāju of Rājauri in Kashmir. His eldest brother, by the same mother, Prince Mohammad Sultān, having died (14th Dec. 1676) at the age of thirty-nine, Prince Muazzam (Shāh Alam) was recognised heir-apparent. For twelve years from 1667 A.D. *Shāh Alam was Subādhār of the Deccan.* About the end of 1677 he was sent to Rajputāna, against his rebellious brother Akbar (4th son of Aurangzeb by his principal wife Dilras Banu Begam, born at Aurangabad—11th Sept. 1657). In 1683-4 he led his Konkan expedition, with doubtful results, and was thence directed against first Bijapur

1. *Tarīkh-i Iradat Khān*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 551-52.
2. Keene, op. cit., pp. 178-9 and 167.

and then Golkonda. On 4th March 1687 he was arrested with all his family for suspected contumacy with Abul Hasan, ruler of Golkonda, and kept in close confinement for seven years. He was released on 24th May 1695 and sent as Governor to Akbarābād. Thence he was transferred to Kabul which he reached on 4th June 1699. "For eight years the hot season was spent in Kabul and the cold weather at Jalalabad or Peshawar or in marches through the country." He got the news of Aurangzeb's death, in his camp at Jamrud, on 22nd March 1707, only 20 days after the event![1]

War of Succession—1707.

Then followed the race for the throne; M. Azam, the third son of Aurangzeb (by Dilras Banu, daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān Safawī—born 9th July 1653) and Shāh Alam being nearly equidistant from Agra. The former was at Ahmednagar (700 miles from Agra), and the latter at Jamrud (715 miles from Agra)[2] The contest is well depicted in the pages of contemporary chroniclers. According to Khāfī Khān, who was then *faujdār* of the sarkār of Thānesar and Khudra, 'On the 10th *Zi-l hijja* (14th March 1707) Azam Shāh, having ascended the throne, made his accession public in the Dakhin by coins struck in the name of Azam Shāh (the title he assumed was *Abul-fayez Qutb ud-din, Muhammad Azam Shāh,*

1. "An instance of the speed with which intelligence could be carried the distance from Ahmednagar to Jamrud being about 1,400 miles, and the average distance travelled by the messengers being thus 70 miles a day."—Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, I, p. 18.

2. Aurangzeb, on his death-bed, had foreseen the impending struggle and tried in vain to avert it: (1) by his last will and testament, already cited, inculcating a definite division of the Empire between his three surviving sons; and (2) by trying to keep his three sons at a safe distance, both from himself and from one another, at the time of his death. Muazzam the eldest was in distant Kabul. The other two, Kām Bakhsh and Azam, both being near him, he had ordered to go to Bijapur and Mālva respectively, with strict and specific instructions as to the time and route to be followed by each. The *Siyār-ul Mutākherin* observes: 'The object of such precise instructions was to place the young (Kām Bakhsh) out of the power of his elder brother M. Azam. Seven days after having taken that precaution, he ordered his second son to proceed to his government of Mālwa four hours after sunrise, with injunction to make short stages of about 5 *kos* daily, and to halt two days at each stage, so as to march only every third day. In giving such orders, the emperor told him that it was to put it in his power to prevent the disorders that might happen in that country in case of a vacancy of the throne, and moreover that he might be at hand to avail himself of his father's demise, and take possession of his inheritance. *But the emperor's real object was to keep so enterprising a prince at a distance from him at that time, and to prevent his availing himself of his feeble state of body to seize and confine him, in the same way as Aurangzib had confined his own father Shāhjehān*'—*Siyār-ul Mutākherein*, pp. 1-2 (Briggs).

Ghāzi)[1] Having gratified the old nobles of the State with robes and jewels, augmentations of *mansabs* and promises, he set off, about the middle of *Zi-l hijja*, to encounter Shāh Alam accompanied by *Jamdatu-l Mulk Amīru-l umara* Asad Khān (his son) Zu-l fikar Khān Bahādur *Nusrat-Jang* and [many other Persian nobles.] He marched to *Khujista-bunyād* (Aurangabad),. . . .and thence arrived at Bunhānpur. After leaving that place, he was abandoned by Muhammad Amin Khān, and Chin Kalich Khān (leader of the Turāni party), who had received the title of *Khān-daurān*. They were offended by the treatment they received from Azam Shāh, and went off to Aurangabad, where they took possession of several districts.'[2] Azam had also ordered his son Bedar Bhakt from Ahmedabad to join him. The latter on hearing of the death of his grandfather is reported to have exclaimed: " You know full well that *the realm of Hindustan will now fall into anarchy*. Peole do not know the value of the Emperor. I only hope that Heaven will direct matters as I wish, and that the Empire will be given to my father.[3]

In the meanwhile, 'On the 7th *Zi-l hijja* the news of Aurangzeb's death reached Peshawar, and the Prince (Shāh Alam) immediately prepared to set out. Next day a letter came from Munim Khān, offering congratulations upon the Prince's accession to royalty (presumed), and urging him to come quickly. Orders were given for the march, and next day the Prince started, making no delay, accompanied by his nobles, except Fathullah Khān, a man of great bravery lately appointed to Kabul, who declined to accompany him. Orders were given that Jan-nisār Khān, who was only second in courage to Fathullah Khān, should go with 5,000 or 6,000 horse to the neighbourhood of Agra to join Prince Azimu-shān (Shāh Alam's son, who had come from Bihar to support his father). Orders also were sent calling Prince Muizu-d din from Thatta, and Aazzu-d din from Multan, where he was acting as the deputy of his father. Other presumed adherents were also sent for.

'Shāh Alam proceeded by regular marches to Lahore. Munim Khān came forth to meet him, paid his homage, offered 40 *lacs*

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1. The coin struck by him bore the inscription—
Sikkah-zad dar jahan ba daulat o jah,
Padshah-i-imamalik Azam Shah
'Coin was struck in the world with fortune and dignity by the Emperor of the kingdoms, Azam Shāh.'— Irvine, op. cit., p. 11.
2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 391.
3. Ibid., pp. 388-89.

of rupees, and presented the soldiers, artillery and equipments that he had busied himself in collecting directly he had heard of the death of Aurangzeb.[1]

Shāh Alam appointed him *wazīr*. At the end of *Muharram*, 1119 (April, 1707)[2] the Prince encamped at Lahore. There he remained over the new moon of *Safar*, and gave orders for the coining of money[3] and reading the *khutba* in his name. The nobles in his

1. Both Khāfī Khān and Iradat Khān speak highly of Munim Khān's loyalty and ability. 'The late Emperor,' says the former, had appointed Munim Khān, a very able man of business, to the management of Kabul. He had shown great devotion and fidelity to Shāh Alam, so that the Prince placed in his hands the management of his jagirs in the province of Lahore, and had recommended him for the *dewani* of the province to the Emperor, who appointed him to that office. When Munim Khān received intelligence of the continued illness of the Emperor, in his faithfulness to Shāh Alam, he busied himself in making preparations in the countries lying between Lahore and Peshawar, finding means of transport, collecting camels and bullocks, and providing things necessary for carrying on a campaign, so as to be ready at the time of need.'—Ibid., pp. 391-92. Iradat Khān, likewise, speaks of Munim's 'great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution and unbending of integrity of mind....when he heard of Aurangzeb's illness, in order to prevent plots in favour of Azam Shāh, he circulated a report that Shāh Alam would not contend for empire, but seek protection from his brother by flight to Persia. This step appears to have been suggested to him by Shāh Alam himself : "*In this rumour*," Shāh Alam is alleged to have told him, "*lies concealed a great design, to forward which I have spread it abroad and taken pains to make it believed. First*, because my father, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement ; and should he even now think that I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. *Secondly*, my brother and M. Azam Shāh, who is my powerful enemy and valiant even to the point of rashness, would exert all his force against me. *From this report my father is easy, and my brother lulled into self-security ; but by the Almighty God who gave me life* (laying his hand on the *Qurān*), *and on his holy book I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet Azam Shāh in single combat, wherever he may be.* This secret, which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it !" 'When the news of Aurangzeb's death reached Munim Khān at Lahore, he wrote immediately by express to Shāh Alam, conjuring him to march with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, and he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Lahore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that not a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the Prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies.'—Ibid., pp. 547-49.

2. Irvine gives the date as 1st *Safar* (3rd May, 1707). Irvine, op. cit., p. 20.

3. Directions were given that the new rupee should be increased half a *māsha* in weight, and *lacs* were accordingly coined of that weight; but as in the payment of *tankhwah*, and in command of commercial transactions, it was received at only the old rate, the new law was discontinued. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 393.

retinue presented their offerings and paid their homage....

'On Shāh Alam arriving at Delhi,....the commandant sent the keys of the fortress with his offering, and many others made their allegiance. At the beginning of *Rabiu-l awwal* (5th May, 1707) he left for Agra, and reached the environs of that city about the middle of the month (12th June, 1707), where he was met by his son M. Azim, and by M. Karim, the son of Prince Azim. Baki Khān gave up the keys of the fortress, with treasure, for which he received great favour and rewards.[1]

'According to one account there were nine *krors* of rupees, in rupees and *ashrāfis*, besides vessels of gold and silver, which was what was left remaining of the 24 *krors* of rupees amassed by Shāh Jahān after what had been extended by Aurangzeb during his reign, principally in his wars in the Dakhin. According to another account, including the presentation money, which consisted of *ashrāfis* and rupees of 100 to 300 tolas' weight, especially coined for presents,[2] and the *ashrāfis* of 12 *māshas* and 13 *māshas* of the reign of Akbar, the whole amounted to 13 *krors*. An order was given for immediately bringing out 4 *krors* of rupees. Three *lacs* were to be given to each of the royal Princes, altogether 9 *lacs;* 3 *lacs* to Khān Zamān and his sons; one *lac* to the Saiyids of Barha; one *lac* to Aghar Khān and his Mughals. In the same way the officers in his retinue, and the old servants, soldiers, [and others, received gratuitous additions of pay and donations]. Altogether two *krors* were distributed....

'Azam Shāh (by this time had) passed the Nerbadda, and arrived at Gwalior....Shāh Alam....wrote him a letter of expostulation, rehearsing the particulars of the will written by their father with his own hand respecting the division of the kingdom, and said, "Of all the six *subas* of the Dakhin, I will surrender to you four *subas*, as well as the *suba* of Ahmedabad, and besides these I will present you with one or two other *subas*, for *I do not wish that the blood of Musulmans should be shed*....You ought therefore to be content with the will of your father, accept what is offered, and endeavour to prevent strife." It is also said that he sent a message to the following effect: "If you will not desist from unjustly making a greater demand, and will not abide by the will of our father, but desire that the sword should be drawn, and that the matter

1. At first Baki Khān who was the commandant of the fort of Agra, had refused to surrender his charge, pleading that 'although the fort and the treasures belonged to both the heirs to the crown, he would surrender them to whichever arrived first.' Ibid., see also *Siyār-ul Mutākherin*, p. 5. (Briggs).

2. See Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, p. 423.

should be submitted to the arbitrament of courage and valour, *what is the necessity that we should doom a multitude to the edge of the sword in our quarrel?* It is better that you and I should stake our individual lives and contend with each other on the field of combat."......When this letter and message of the elder brother reached the younger, the latter said, "I suppose the stupid fellow has never read the lines of Sa'di, which say that "Two kings cannot be contained in one country, though ten darweshes can sleep under one blanket.'"[1]

'Empire having been decreed to Shāh Alam,' writes Iradat Khān, 'from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of Azam Shāh, that he was convinced by his brother, though supported by the myriads of Tur and Sallam, durst not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth; *as was formerly the case with the Emperor Humāyūn during the rebellion of the Afghan Sher Shāh.* Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence; so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival.'[2]

'The spies of Shāh Alam Bahādur Shah,' writes Khāfī Khān, 'brought intelligence that the advanced guard of Azam Shah had marched with the intention of taking possession of the river Cham-

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1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 396-97. A slightly different version is given by Iradat Khān :—'At length Shāh Alam, having reached Mattra, sent by a celebrated *darwesh* the following message to Azam Shāh : "By the divine auspices we inherit from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor consent to shed blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the empire between us. Though I am the elder son, I will leave the choice in your favour." Azam Shāh, vainglorious and haughty, replied that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the field, and upon this the messenger departed.'—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 542.

How could two swords be kept in one scabbard?
Az farsh-i-Khanata balab-i bam azan-i-man,
Az ban-i-Khana to ba sariya az an-i-tu.

"My share is from floor to the roof of the house, yours from the roof upto the firmament!"—See Irvine, op. cit., p. 22.

Cf. Duryodhana's reply in the *Mahābhārata* :—

"Take my message to my kinsmen, for Duryodhana's words are plain,
Portion of the Kuru empire sons of Pandu seek in vain,
Town nor village, mart nor hamlet, help us righteous gods in heaven,
Spot that needle's point can cover shall not unto them be given!"

2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 541-42.

18th June, 1707.—Irvine, op. cit., p. 25.

bal, which is eighteen *kos* from Agra. So he gave directions that Khānazad Khān, Saf-shikan Khān the commander of the artillery, with an advance guard, should go and take possession of the passage, and not allow the enemy to cross. It was next reported to be Azam Shāh's intention to cross the river at Samer-garh, and leaving Agra in his rear, to turn and give battle. Orders were then given for moving Shāh Alam's tents to *Jaju Sarai*......Azam Shāh also prepared for battle, without heeding the superior force of his brother, or settling any plan of action, went boldly forward like a fierce lion dashes upon a flock of sheep......

'On the 18th *Rabiu-l awwal*, 1119 A.H. (10th June 1707 A.D.),[2] the two armies joined battle at Jaju (Jajau) seven or eight *kos* from Agra......Matters now looked ill in every way for Azam Shāh......and a great number on the side of Azam Shāh were slain. Zu-l fikar Khān received a slight wound upon the lip. When he saw that the day was lost, that many of his valiant companions in arms were slain, and that Azam Shāh's army was pressed so hard that there was no hope of deliverance, he went to the Prince and said, "Your ancestors have had to endure the same kind of reverse, and have been deprived of their armies; but they did not refuse to do what the necessities of the case required. The best course for you now is to leave the field of battle, and to remove to a distance, when fortune may perhaps assist you, and you may retrieve your reverse." Azam Shāh flew into a rage, and said, "Go with your bravery, and save your life wherever you can; it is impossible for me to leave this field: for Princes there is (only the choice of) a throne or a bier (*takht yā takhta*)." Zu-l fikar Khān, accompanied by Hamidu-din Khān, then went off to Gwalior. The ill-fated Prince now found himself left with only two or three hundred horsemen among thousands of his enemies, and amid a rain of arrows and balls. In this extremity he exclaimed, "*It is not Shāh Alam who fights against me; God has abandoned me, and fortune has turned against me.*'"[1]

From this we might hurry on to the close of the battle as described by Iradat Khān who was present on the scene :—

'*His* (Zu-l fikar Khān's) *flight determined the rout of our army.* The principal followers and personal attendants of Azam Shāh now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to await the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 398-99.

Saiyid Abdullah and his brother, Husain Ali Khān, of the illustrious house of Barha, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed most gallant actions, if possible superior to their sires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot. The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and there was great slaughter on both sides. Husain Ali Khān received several wounds and fell down faint with the loss of blood....At last a musket-ball and several arrows struck the Prince Bedar Bakht, and he sank down dead on the elephant.

'Azam Shah, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Shāh Alam. From this now issued with a select band the Princes Azimu-sh Shān, Muizzu-din Jahāndar Shāh, and Jahān Shāh. Azam Shāh soon received a mortal wound from a musket-ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The Prince Walajah (Azam's second son) also sank down in the sleep of death. I (Iradat Khān) now made my escape to Agra, not chosing to go to the enemy's camp, where I had many friends who would have given me protection.

'Rustam-dil Khān, who commanded the escort of Shāh Alam's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops,......cutting off the head of the corpse (of Azam Shāh)....hastened to the camp of Shāh Alam. With exulting hopes of great reward, he laid his prize at the Prince's feet; *but the compassionate Shāh Alam, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave Rustam-dil Khān nothing but reproaches.* He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the march of victory to be beaten. Munim Khān took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate Princes, and treated the ladies of their *harems* with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder....Without doubt Shāh Alam's successes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister."[1]

Gifts and Offices.

'Next day Shāh Alam went to visit Khān-khānan (Munim Khān), and raised him to highest rank, with the title of *Khān-khānan Bahādur Zafar Jang* and *Yār-i wafadār* (faithful friend). He presented him with a *kror* of rupees in cash and goods, a larger bounty

1. Ibid., pp. 546-47, 549. "It may be fairly said, in summing up this part of our story," observes Irvine, "that Azam Shāh brought on his own defeat by his overhaste and excessive rashness. Having failed to reach Agra in time to occupy that city before his rival, his chance of success was reduced enormously. He had little or no money, in comparison, at least with the large resource thrown open to Bahādur Shāh; he had left much of his equipage behind him in the Dakhin; and his army was largely composed of fresh and untrained troops; while many of his chief men, such as Zulfikar Khān and Rāja Jai Singh Kachhwāha seem to have been only half-hearted in their support of his cause."—Irvine, op. cit., pp. 34-5.

than had ever been bestowed on any individual since the rise of the House of Tīmūr. His *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse, five thousand being *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah*. He also received two *krors* of *dāms* as *inām*, and he was confirmed in the office of *wazir*. Of the ten *lacs* of rupees which he offered as *peshkash*, one was accepted......Each of the four royal Princes had his *mansab inceased* to 30,000 and 20,000 horse'......A gracious *farmān*, summoning *Amīru-l umara* Asad Khān, Zu-l fikar Khān, Hamidu-d din, who had repaired to Gwalior before the battle, was sent, promising them safety and favour and asking them to bring with them the ladies of the late Prince with their establishments. '*Amīru-l umara* accompanied the retinue of Nawāb Kudsiya Zebu-n Nissa (sister of Azam Shāh), who was clothed in mourning garments. When they arrived, the Begam did not go through the form of offering congratulations, in consequence of her being in mourning, and this vexed the King. *But he treated her with great kindness and indulgence, doubled her annual allowance, and gave her the title of Pādshāh Begam.* All the other ladies of Azam Shāh were treated with great sympathy and liberality, and were ordered to accompany Pādshāh Begam to the capital.

'To Asad Khān was given the title *Nizāmu-l Mulk Asafu-d daula*. He was also made *Vakīl-i mutlak*, as the office was called in former reigns, and the appointment and removal of *wazirs* and other officials used to be in this grandee's hands. He was also presented with four stallions, five horses with accoutrements, etc., etc., *and was allowed the privilege of having his drums beaten in the royal presence*[1]......Zu-l fikar Khān's *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse. He received the title of *Samsāmu-d daula Amīru-l Bahādur Nusrat Jang*, and was reinstated in his office of *Mīr-bakhshi*....In short, all the adherents, great and small, of the King and Princes, received *lacs* of rupees in *inām*, four-fold and six-fold augmentations of their *mansabs*, and presents of jewels and elephants.

'Although the office of *wazīr* had been given to Khān-khānan (Munim Khān), *it was deemed expedient*, in order to conceal Asad

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1. 'Some envious spirits privately observed that the *Amīru-l umara* had been the close friend and trusted adviser of Azam Shāh; but the Emperor answered that if his own sons had been in the Dakhin, the exigencies of the position would have compelled them to join their uncle.' —Ibid., p. 402.

Khān *Amīru-l umara* and Zu-l fikar Khān, to elevate Asad Khān to the position of *wazīr*. To outward appearance he was raised to this dignity; but whenever any ministerial business of importance arose, Khān-khānan did not communicate it to Asafu-d daula[1]. . . . With the exception that the seal of Asafu-d daula was placed upon revenue and civil *parwānās* and *sanads*, he had no part in the administration of government. . . . Khān-khānan discharged his duties as *wazīr* with repute, integrity and impartiality and he exerted himself so earnestly in the performance of his work, that when he took his seat, he appointed officers to see that no petitions or letters of the day before remained unnoticed. One of the most acceptable and beneficial of the measures of Khān-khānan was the relief he afforded in that oppressive grievance, the feed of the cattle of the *mansabdārs*.[2]

An Innovation.

'Orders were given that in the coinage of rupees and *ashrāfis* no verse should be used, but that the name, "Shāh Alam Bahādur Shāh" and the name of (mint) city should be impressed in prose. It was also ordered that in the *khutba*, the name "Shāh Alam" should be embellished by the title "Saiyid." It appears from history that from the rise of the House of Tīmūr—nay, even from the foundation of the Ghori dynasty—no one of the monarchs had even used the title of Saiyid in the *khutba*, or in his pedigree, with the exception of Khizr Khān.'[3]

Prince Kām Bakhsh, the youngest and favourite son of Aurangzeb (by Dilras Banu Begam)—born at Delhi, 24th February 1667

1. 'On the day that Asafu-d daula acted as *dīwān*, it became incumbent upon Khān-khānan to wait upon him as other ministers did, and to obtain his signature to documents; but this was disagreeable to him.' —Ibid.

2. 'To explain this matter briefly, it may be said that in the late reign the *akhta begis* and other rapacious officials had so contrived that the responsibility of providing food for the cattle had been fixed on the *mansabdārs*. . . . . .Although a *jāgīr* might be lying waste, and its total income would not suffice for a half or a third of the expense of the animals, and leave a little to supply the necessaries of life to the holder's wife and family, the officers imprisoned his *vakils*, and with violence and insult demanded contributions for the food of the cattle.'—Ibid., p. 403.

3. According to Keene, Bahādur Shāh assumed this title in right of his mother Nawāb Bāi. "This lady was the descendant of a hermit named Saiyid Mīr Shāh, who disappeared after marrying a daughter of the Rāja of Cashmere. This Rāja adopted the children and brought them up as Hindus. Hence the lady who, by a singular accident, became the wife of Aurangzeb in his youth, was in one respect of Saiyid origin, though in another she might be looked upon as Hindu. Her title, after her marriage was Nawāb Bāi, a mark, perhaps, of her double nationality." —Keene, *The Turks in India*, p. 199 n.

—also followed in the footsteps of his elder brother Muhammad Azam, and got himself crowned in the wake of his father's death. According to Iradat Khān, 'Kām Bakhsh was a prince of an excellent memory; was learned and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree; *but there was in his mind a flightiness that approached to insanity.* He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but for some misbehaviour he was reproved, degraded or confined; some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. What follies was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind and the confidence he put in lying visionaries!....His flatterers having told him that his eldest son would also at some time become Emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated putting him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aurangzeb; however, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon punishments, on the ladies of his *harem*, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eye never saw nor ear heard....'[1]

The story of his rebellion may be briefly told in the words of Khāfī Khān.—

Rebellion of Kām Bakhsh.

When the news of Aurangzeb's death reached him, Kām Bakhsh was engaged in the capture of Bijapur from its commandant Niyaz Khān. 'Negotiations were opened, and through the exertions and skilful management of Ashan Khān, the keys of the fortress were given up by Saiyid Niyaz Khān, who waited on the Prince and made submission. At the end of two months the city and environs were brought into a state of order. Ashan Khān was made *bakhshi*, and the portfolio of *wazir* was given to Hakim Muhsin, with the title of Takarab Khān....Other adherents were rewarded with jewels and titles. The Prince then assumed the throne. He was mentioned in the *khutba* under the title of *Din-panah* (Asylum of Faith), and coins also were issued with this title....[2]

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1. E. & D., op. cit, VII p. 553.
2. '*Dar Dakin Zadsikhah bar Khurshid O Mah: Padshah Kam Bakhsh-i-Dinpanah.*'

"In the South struck coin on sun (=gold) and moon (=silver) the Emperor Kām Bakhsh, Protector of the Faith."—Irvine, op. cit., p. 51; see ibid., ft. n.

'A kind and admonitory letter was addressed by the Emperor (Shāh Alam) to his brother Muhammad Kām Bakhsh to the following effect: "Our father entrusted you with the government of the *suba* of Bijapur; we now relinquish to you the government of the two *subas* of Bijapur and Haidarabad, and all their subjects and belongings, upon the condition, according to the old rule of the Dakhin, that the coins shall be struck and the *khutba* read in our name. The tribute which has been hitherto paid by the governors of the two provinces we remit."....(To this kind letter, the insolent prince wrote a provoking reply, and persisted in the course of his rebellion. So the issue had once more to be decided by the arbitrament of the sword). Kām Bakhsh advanced until he was only two or three *kos* from Haidarabad. His small force now consisted only of....a few bold companions (his whole army having 'dwindled away through his violent bloodthirsty madness') who would not leave him, and three or four hundred horse.....The orders given to Bahādur Shāh's commanders were that *they were not to bring on a fight, but to surround Kām Bakhsh so that he should not be killed, and the blood of Musulmans should not be spilt*......(But) Zu-l fikar Khān had an old-standing aversion of Kām Bakhsh, and repeatedly urged Khān-khānan to attack. Kām Bakhsh, with a heart full of fear and hope, stood firm, expecting the onslaught....The drivers and others on his elephant fell wounded one after the other. He then drove the animal himself, but fell in the *howda* wounded with balls and arrows.... The elephant ran off into the country, but was caught by a party of Mahrattas, and the Prince became a prisoner.....All the men of Kām Bakhsh who fought near his elephant were killed....Kām Bakhsh and his two sons, all desperately wounded, were taken to *Khulymanzil*, and placed near the royal tent. *European and Greek surgeons were appointed to attend them.* Kām Bakhsh rejected all treatment, and refused to take the broth prepared for his food.

Shāh Alam's kindness.

In the evening the King went to see his brother. *He sat down by his side, and took the cloak from his own back, and covered him who lay dejected and despairing, fallen from throne and fortune. He showed him the greatest kindness, asked him about his state, and said, "I never wished to see you in this condition." Kām Bakhsh replied, "Neither did I wish that one of the race of Tīmūr should be made prisoner with the imputation of cowardice and want of spirit." The King gave him two or three spoonfuls of broth with his own hands, and then departed with his eyes full of tears.* Three or four watches afterwards, Kām Bakhsh and one of his sons named Fīrozmand died. Both corpses were sent to Delhi, to be interred near the tomb of Humayun.[1]

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1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 405-08. For variants in details see Irvine, op. cit., p. 64.

Danishmand Khān, who like Khāfi Khān was present in the Camp, has the following chronogram on the date of Kām Bakhsh's death :—

Khushta shud an Zālim, o tarikh shud "Kām hama bud ajal Kām Bakhsh"; Murd, o ba in taur mibakhshid Kām, Rast bar amad sakhun i nām-bakhsh.

"That tyrant was slain, and the date was 'Kām Bakhsh's only pursuit (*kā*) was death.' He died, and in that way fulfilled desire (*kām*). Thus was the name-giving word verified."[1] The death of Kām Bakhsh occurred in January 1709 A.D. Irvine mentions on the authority of the *Ibrat-nāma* that his grandson, through his second son, was raised to the throne later as *Shāh Jahān II* (20 Rabi II, 1173 A.H.)[2] But later on (I, p. 146) he gives the same title to Sultān M. Ibrahim, son of Rafiu-sh Shān, son of Bahādur Shāh. Strangely enough, another writer has conferred this title on Rafiu-d daula, while a third assigns it to Rafiu-d Darajat.[3]

II RELATIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS

When Aurangzeb hastened to the south in pursuit of his rebellious son Akbar, he had secured no permanent peace, as we have seen, in Rajputāna. The Mughals could never thoroughly suppress the incursions and forays of the Rathors while Aurangzeb was preoccupied with his Deccan wars. "From the time of Jaswant Singh's death," writes Irvine, "and Alamgīr's treacherous attempt to seize his son (Ajit Singh), dates the alienation of the Rajput clans, whose loyalty had been so wisely and prudently fostered for many years by the tolerant measures of Akbar and his two successors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. As soon as Alamgir, their oppressor, had expired, Ajit Singh collected his men, issued from his retreat and ejected the Muhammadans from Jodhpur and neglected to send an embassy to the new sovereign. *It was with this state of things that Bahādur Shāh had now to deal.*"[4]

The Rajputs were determined 'to face fearful odds, for the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods.' In other words, they fought for (1) the abolition of *jiziya*, (2) the freedom of worship, and (3) the independence of Rajputs. Khāfi Khān records the Imperial view of the situation thus :—

'Towards the end of the year 1119 the Emperor marched from Agra,

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1. "The play upon *Kām Bakhsh* (fulfiller of desire) is almost untranslatable."—Ibid., p. 65.
2. Ibid., p. 66 ; also Keene, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, p. 40.
3. See Kamdar and Shah, *A History of the Mogul Rule in India*, pp. 202, 245 ; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 467.
4. Irvine, op. cit., p. 45.

with the intention of chastising the Rajputs in the vicinity of Udaipur and Jodhpur. From the reports of the newswriters of the province of Ajmir, and the *parganas* around Jodhpur, the following matters became known to His Majesty ..... Rāja Ajit Singh ....had cast off his allegiance to the late Emperor, and done many improper things. After the death of Aurangzeb he again showed his disobedience and rebellion by oppressing Musulmans, forbidding the killing of cows, preventing the summons to prayer, razing the mosques which had been built after the destruction of the idol-temples in the late reign, and repairing and building anew idol-temples. He warmly supported and assisted the army of the Rāṇā of Udaipur, and was closely allied with Rāja Jai Singh, whose son-in-law he was. He had carried his disaffection so far that he had not attended at Court since the accession. On the 8th *Sha'bān* (No. 1707) the Emperor marched to punish this rebel and his tribe, by way of Amber, the native land of Jai Singh, between Ajmir and Chitor.'[1]

Rāṇā Amar Singh of Udaipur averted the threatened blow by sending his brother, Bakht Singh, to Agra with a letter of congratulation, 100 gold coins, 1000 rupees, two horses with gold mounted trappings, an elephant, nine swords, and other productions of his country. Jodhpur, the storm centre of the trouble, was ordered to be besieged; and Amber, the capital of the Kachhwāhas, was annexed (January, 1708) though later (April, 1708) it was made over to Bijai Singh, the younger brother of Jai Singh (the erstwhile ruler).[2] The title of *Mīrzā Rāja* was conferred upon the new prince. The march towards Jodhpur in the meanwhile continued. Soon after news arrived of (1) the flight of Rāṇā Amar Singh of Udaipur, and (2) of the rebellion of Prince Kām Bakhsh. The latter event has already been dealt with above. After the fall of Mairtha Ajit Singh capitulated. Between 10th March and 23rd April, 1708, the title of *Mahārāj* and the rank of 3500 *zāt* and 3000 horse, a standard, and kettledrums, were conferred upon him, with other honours for his four sons. "The difficulty with Jodhpur being thus, to all appearance, satisfactorily disposed of, the Emperor retraced his steps from Mairtha and returned to Ajmer." Suitable gifts were sent to Rāṇā Amar Singh (who had fled) through his brother Bakht Singh with a reassuring letter bidding him not to be frightened but remain in peace in his own abode.

On 30th April, when the Emperor was marching south against

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 404-05.
2. In the battle of Jajau, Bijai Singh had fought on the side of Bahādur Shāh, and Jai Singh for Azam. The latter, however, had deserted Azam Shāh before the close of the battle.

Kām Bakhsh, it was again reported that Mahārāja Ajit Singh, Rāja Jai Singh Kachhwāha, and Durgādās Rāthor—who had been obliged to follow the camp—had fled. But the exigencies of the situation compelled Bahādur Shāh to concentrate on the greater challenge from the south. All efforts made by the Imperial officers in the north having proved ineffective against the combination of the Rajput princes, conciliatory measures were for the time being adopted by Bahādur Shāh. "On the 6th Oct. 1708, on the intercession of prince Azim-ush-shān, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh were restored to their rank in the Mughal service." When the Emperor returned north, after the defeat of Kām Bakhsh, on 21st June 1710, the two Rājas were brought to him by Mahābat Khān, son of the *wazīr* Munim Khān. "To show how little the Rajputs trusted the solemn promises made to them that they would be treated well," writes William Irvine (from whom the above account has been abstracted), "I may quote the fact mentioned by Kamwar Khān, the historian, who was present in the retinue of Prince Rafi-ush-shān. Beyond the four Princes (sons of Bahādur Shāh) and the great nobles there was no one else with the Emperor at the time. Kamkar Khān, while the interview was proceeding, saw that all the hills and plains round them were full of Rajputs. There were several thousand men on camels hidden in the hills. On each camel rode two or even three men, fully armed with match-lock or bows and arrows. Evidently they were prepared to sell their lives dearly in defence of their chieftains, if there was any attempt at treachery."[1]

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1. Irvine, op. cit., p. 73. The report of Khāfī Khān on the nature of the Rajput submission is *prima facie* exaggerated; 'Ajit Singh and his allied Rājas,' according to him, 'knew that submission and obedience alone could save them and their families and property: so he addressed himself to Khān-khānan and his son Khān-zaman, expressing his sorrow, humility, and obedience; and he sent a message humbly asking that Khān-zamān and the *Kaziul Kuzat* might come into Jodhpur, to rebuild the mosques, *destroy the idol-temples*, enforce the provisions of the law about the summons to prayer *and the killing of cows, to appoint magistrates and to commission officers to collect the jiziya*. His submission was graciously accepted, and his requests granted. Officers of justice, *kāzis, muftis, imāms*, and *muazzins* (criers to prayer) were appointed in Jodhpur and other towns in the country. Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, with the concurrence *of Durgādās*, who was the very soul of the opposition, came to Court in hope of receiving pardon for their offences, and each was honoured with the gift of a robe, elephant, etc.'—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 405.

That the peace was not so humiliating to the Rajputs is indicated by the following account given by Elphinstone:—"While he was on his march against Cāmbakhsh, he had endeavoured to make a settlement

III RELATIONS WITH THE MARATHAS

The importance of the Mughal-Maratha relations in the reign of Bahādur Shāh consists primarily in two happenings : (1) the release of Shāhu[1] from Mughal custody ; and (2) the Imperial recognition of the Maratha claims to *Chaut* and *Sardeshmukhi* in the Deccan. Regarding the former it is necessary to correct the mistake committed by V. A. Smith in the following statement : "*Bahādur Shāh,*" he writes "*acting on the astute advice of Zulfikar Khān, released Shāhu* (Sivāji II), the great Sivāji's grandson, who had been educated at Court, and sent him back to his own country, then under the government of Tārā Bāi, the widow of the young prince's uncle, Rājā Rām. The expected civil war among the Marathas which ensued prevented them from troubling the imperial Government, thus justifying Zulfikar Khān's counsel."[2]

Shāhu was not in Bahādur Shāh's custody, but in Aurangzeb's camp at the time of the latter's death. Azam Shāh took Shāhu with him when he marched north towards the capital. He was released by Azam, no doubt as suggested by Zu-l fikar Khān, in May 1707, at Doraha (near Nemawar, north of the Narmadā), before the battle of Jajau. Khāfī Khān makes mention of this in the following terms : 'Zulfikar Khān *Nursat Jang* was very intimate with Sāhu, grandson of Sivāji and had long been interested in his affairs. He now persuaded *Azam Shāh* to set this Sāhu at liberty, along with several persons who were his friends and companions...... Many Mahratta *sardārs,* who through necessity had deceitfully joined themselves to the part of Rāni Tārā Bāi, widow of Rājāram, now came and joined Rāja Sāhu.'[3]

Rājārām had demanded from Aurangzeb the release of Shāhu

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of his disputes with the Rajputs: He had entered into a treaty with the Rāṇā of Oudipur, *restoring all conquests, re-establishing religious affairs on the footing on which they stood in Akber's time, releasing the Rāṇā from the obligation to furnish a contingent in the Deckan,* and, in fact, 'acknowledging his entire independence in everything but the name. (Tod's *Rājasthān,* Vol., I. p. 395)." When Bahādur Shāh returned north, after the defeat of Kām Bakhsh, he was faced with a new peril, viz., the Sikh rising ; and hence, according to Elphinstone, "All their (Rajput's) demands were agreed to, and they were probably left on the same footing as the Rāṇā of Uudipur."—*History of India,* pp. 677-78.

1. "Next to the great founder Shivāji, Shāhu has played the most important part in the development of the Maratha State."— Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History,* p. 97.
2. Smith, *The Oxford History of India,* p. 453.
3. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 395.

as a condition of peace, but Aurangzeb had refused to set him at liberty.[1] Now the exigencies of the situation made such an act politic and expedient. Tārā Bāi, who was the soul of the Maratha resistance, had been fighting after all for the ascendancy of her own son. The release of Shāhu was therefore calculated to involve Mahārāshtra in a civil war. This was extremely desirable, inasmuch as the Mughal Princes and the Imperial armies were engaged in the fight for the throne. "Thus Shāhu released," argued Zu-l fikar Khān, "would be a more potent weapon against the Marathas than Shāhu in captivity."[2] As a condition of his release, however, Shāhu had agreed to rule as a feudatory of Azam Shāh and to leave behind him as hostages his mother, Yesūbāi his wife, his mistress (Virubai), and his illegitimate half brother Madansing. "On the other hand Azam Shāh had granted Shāhu the *Sardeshmukhi* and the *Chauth* over the six Deccan *subahs* (Khāndesh, Berar, Aurangabad, Bedar, Haidarābad of Golkonda, and Bajipur). Shāhu was also appointed governor of Gondwana, Guzerat and Tanjore during good behaviour."[3] When Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne, Shāhu sent his *vakīl*, Rāybhānji Bhonsla, to the Imperial Court to pay his homage ;[4] and the new Emperor confirmed him in his possessions and created him *mansabdār* of ten thousand horse.[5]. Tārā Bāi disputed the legitimacy and claims of Shāhu before the Imperial Court, through Munim Khān, and 'asked for a *farmān* in the name of her son, granting the nine rupees (per cent.) of the *sardeshmukhi*, without any reference to the *chauth*, for which he would suppress other insurgents and restore order in the country. Samsamu-d daula Zu-l fikar Khān took the side of Rāja Sāhu, and a great contention upon the matter arose between the two ministers. The King, in his extreme good nature, had resolved in his heart that he would not reject the petition of any one, whether of low or high

1. Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, II, p. 92.
2. Sinha, *The Rise of the Peshwas*, pp. XII-XIII.
3. Kincaid and Parasnis, op. cit., II, 122-23.
4. Shāhu, being brought up in the Mughal camp, departed from the relentless attitude of his father and grandfather (See Sardesai, op. cit., p. 99) and to prove his loyalty to the Emperor, sent a Maratha contingent, under Nemāji Scindhia, to aid Bahādur Shah in his fight against Kām Bakhsh. (Sinha, op. cit., p. XXVI.)
5. Rājwādé, VIII, Documents 55-57. Sāhu's *vakil* had asked for a *farmān* conferring on him the *sardeshmukhi* and *chauth* of the six *subas* of the Deccan 'on condition of restoring prosperity to the ruined land.'—Khāfi Khān, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 408.

degree. The complainants and defendants made their statements to His Majesty, *and although they differed as much as morning and evening, each was accepted*, and an order of consent was given. So in this matter of the *sardeshmukhi*, *farmāns* were directed to be given in compliance with the requests both of Munim Khān and Zu-l fikar Khān; but in consequence of the quarrel between these two nobles, the orders about the *sardeshmukhi* remained inoperative.'[1]

IV. RELATIONS WITH THE SIKHS

In the last chapter we brought the history of the Sikhs down to the death of Guru Govind, the tenth and last *Guru*, who had for some strategic or other reasons submitted to Bahādur Shāh in the

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1. Ibid., p. 409. In this connection it is interesting to note the following observations in the *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khān*, though the reader must be warned against accepting anything contrary to the above account:—'Towards the close of His Majesty's (Aurangzeb's) lifetime, a truce was concluded, with the Marathas, on these terms, viz. that 3 p. c. out of the revenues drawn from the Imperial dominions in the Dakhin should be allotted to them by way of *sardeshmukhi* and accordingly Ashan Khān commonly called Mīr Malik, set out from the threshold of royalty with the documents confirming this grant to the Marathas, in order that, after the treaty had been duly ratified, he might bring the chiefs of that tribe to the court of the monarch of the world. However, before he had had time to deliver these documents into their custody, a royal mandate was issued, directing him to return and bring back the papers in question with him. About this time, His Majesty Aurangzeb 'Alamgir hastened to the eternal gardens of Paradise, at which period his successor Shāh Alam (Bahādur Shāh) was gracing the Dakhin with his presence. The latter settled 10 p. c. out of the produce belonging to the peasantry as *sardeshmukhi* on the Marathas, and furnished them with the necessary documents confirming the grant.

'When Shāh Alam returned from the Dakhin to the metropolis, Dāud Khān remained behind to officiate for *Amīru-l umara* Zu-l fikar Khān in the government of the provinces. He cultivated a good understanding with Marathas, and concluded an amicable treaty on the following footing, viz., that in addition to the above-mentioned grant of *tithe* as *sardeshmukhi*, a fourth of whatever amount was collected in the country should be their property, while the other three-fourth should be paid to the royal exchequer. *This system of division was accordingly put in practice; but no regular deed granting the fourth share, which in the dialect of the Dakhin is called chauth, was delivered to the Marathas.*' E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 259-60. Elphinstone observes, "Zulfikar, who was now in great favour, was anxious that peace should be concluded with him (Shāhu), *at the price of the concessions formerly offered by Aurangzeb.*" When Zulfikar left for the Court, putting Dāud Khān in charge of the Deccan, the latter "followed up the views of his principal, and concluded a personal agreement with Sahu, consenting that the *chaut* (or fourth) should be paid while he remained in office, but stipulating that it should be collected by agents of his own, without the interference of the Marathas."—Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 676-77.

latter's struggle against his recalcitrant brothers.[1] Whatever the circumstances attending the murder of Guru Govind,[2] it is certain that he had eminently succeeded in 'teaching the sparrow to strike the eagle;' he had effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts of that purity of worship which had been preached by Nānuk." He had lost all his children in the struggle and at the time of his death (1708) entrusted the *khālsha* to God, the neverdying. He inculcated on his following: "*He who wishes to behold the Guru, let him search the Granth of Nānuk. The Guru will dwell with the Khālsa; be firm and be faithful: wherever five Sikhs are gathered together there will I also be present.*"[3]

The leadership of the Sikhs after this was assumed by an adventurer whose origin and personality are a subject of controversy. "On the death of Govind," says Irvine, "his family and followers brought forward a man, who exactly resembled the deceased. It is not very clear who this man was; he is generally spoken as *Bandā* (the slave), or as the *False Guru*. . . .Some say he was a Bairāgi faqir. . . .who for many years had been the intimate friend of Guru Govind." Whatever may be the truth as to his origin and antecedents, concludes Irvine, "this man was now sent off secretly from the Dakhin to Hindustan. At the same time letters were written to the Punjab, informing the disciples, that their Guru had been slain in the Emperor's camp by the dagger of an Afghan. But just before his death, their leader had announced that in a short time, through the power of transmigration, he would appear again clothed with sovereignty, and whenever he should raise the standard of independence, they would by joining him secure prosperity in this world and salvation in the next."[4]

Bandā, taking advantage of the distracted state of the Empire, soon became a terror to the Musulmans in the Punjab, especially in

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1. Irvine states that Guru Govind joined Bahādur Shāh when he was marching "down country from Lahore, to Agra, to contest the throne with his brother, *Azam Shāh*.—Irvine, op cit., p. 89. According to other accounts, the Guru accompanied Bahādur Shāh while he was marching south against his youngest brother *Kām Bakhsh*.—Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 118.

2. See Irvine, op. cit., p. 91. See "Last Days of Guru Govind" by Ganda Singh in J. I. H., XX, pt. I. (April 1941).

3. See Cunningham, loc. cit., pp. 102 to 123 and 121.

4. Irvine, op. cit., p. 93.

Sirhind. It was to crush this danger that threatened the very heart of the Empire, that Bahādur Shāh felt compelled to conclude his hostilities with the Rajputs, and hasten further north. As Ghulām Husain puts it, 'This barbarian, whom nature had formed for a butcher, trusting to the numbers and repeated success of those other butchers he commanded, had inflicted upon God's creatures cruelties exceeding all belief, and had laid waste the whole province of Lahore. Flushed with these victories, he even aspired to a crown.[1] "At Lohgarh, Bandā tried to assume something of regal state. He was *the Sacha Pādshāh*, or Veritable Sovereign, his disciples all *Singhs*, or lions. A new form of greeting, *Fath daras* (May you behold victory!), was invented and Muhammadans were slightingly called *Maslas*. Coin was struck in the new sovereign's name. One side bore the lines :

Sikkah zad dar har do alam tegh-i-Namak Wahid ast,
Faith Govind Shah-i-shaham fazl-l-Sacha Sahib ast. . . .

The lines, an obvious imitation of the inscriptions on the Mughal coins, seem to mean 'Fath Govind, king of kings, struck coin in the two worlds ; the sword of Nānak is the granter of desires, by grace he is the veritable Lord!"[2]

Various attempts made by Imperial officers to capture this Robinhood ended in failure. One such action under the command of no less a person than the *Khān-khānan*, Munim Khān, is worthy of notice. Khāfī Khān writes :

'After repeated battles, in which many men were killed on both sides, the infidels were defeated, and retreated to a fastness in the hills called Lohgarh, which is near the hills belonging to the Barfi Rāja (Icy King), and fortified themselves. *The Guru* of the sect incited and encouraged his followers to action by assuring them that those who should fall fighting bravely on the field of battle would rise in a state of youth to an everlasting existence in a more exalted position. . . .Continual fighting went on, and numbers fell. . . .The provisions in their fortress now failed, and the infidels bought what they could from the grain-dealers with the royal army, and pulled it up with ropes. . . .The infidels were in extremity, when one of them, a man of the *Khatri* tribe, and a tobacco-seller by trade, resolved to sacrifice his life for the good of his religion.

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1. *Siyār-ul-Mutākherin*, p. 72.
2. Irvine, op. cit., p. 110. "Not content with supremacy in the State, he also claimed, as other sovereigns have done, to be above grammar. By his order all nouns in Hindi and Persian having *feminine* terminations were changed into the *masculine* form! For instance, *sawari* (*a retinue*) and *Kacheri* (Court-house or office) were pronounced by him and his Sikhs, *sawara* and *Kachera!*"—Ibid., p. III.

He dressed in the fine garments of the *Guru* and went and seated himself in the *Guru's house*. Then the *Guru* went forth with his forces, broke through the royal lines, and made off to the mountains of the *Barfi* Rāja.

'The royal troops entered the fort, and, finding the false *Guru* sitting in state, they made him prisoner, and carried him to Khan-khanan. Great was the rejoicing that followed; the men who took the news to the Emperor received presents, and great commendation was bestowed on Khān-khānan.[1] The prisoner was taken before Khān-khānan, and the truth was then discovered—*the hawk had flown and an owl had been caught!* (1710)

'Khān-khanan was greatly vexed. He severely reprimanded his officers, and ordered them all to dismount and march on foot into the hills of the Barfi Rāja. If they caught the *Guru*, they were to take him prisoner alive; if they could not, they were to take the Barfi Rāja and bring him to the presence. So the Rāja was made prisoner and brought to the royal camp, instead of the *Guru*. Clever smiths were then ordered to make an iron cage. This cage became the lot of the Barfi Rāja and of that Sikh who so devotedly sacrificed himself for his *Guru*; for they were placed in it, and were sent to the fort of Delhi.[2]

Sikhs unsubdued.

Bandā could not be captured during the life time of Bahādur Shāh. The Emperor's impotent rage was visited upon Khān-khānan, who died shortly after the disgrace that attended this discomfiture. Bahādur Shāh, in his mad search after the Sikh Leader, ordered that all Khatris and Jāts in his army, at the Court, and in public offices, should shave off their beards! 'A great many of them thus had to submit to what they considered the disgrace of being shaved, and for a few days the barbers were busy. Some men of name and position committed suicide to save the honour of their beards!'[3]

The Sikhs continued to grow strong during the period of confusion that surrounded the death of Bahādur Shāh (1712) and later. Bandā was not captured until after the accession of the Emperor Farrukh-siyar (1716); but we might carry on the story of the Sikh rebellion to its tragic close, viz., the execution of Bandā and his immediate followers. The *Siyār-ul Mutakherin* gives the following account of this:—

'On the accession of Ferokh-siar, Islām Khān (viceroy of Lahore) received orders to destroy those freebooters; but he was totally defeated in a pitched battle, and after losing the greatest part of his men, he retired to Lahore covered with disgrace. Banda elated by so unex-

1. Readers will recall the circumstances attending the flight of Shivāji from Agra.
2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 424-25.
3. To the Sikhs the shaving of hair from any part of their body is religiously forbidden—Ibid., p. 425.

pected a success, recommenced his atrocities with additional fury....This intelligence having reached the capital, the emperor commanded Abdulsamed Khãn, a Turãni chief, the viceroy of Cashmere, to march against the Sikhs, and at the same time conferred the Government of Lahore on his son Zachariah Khãn. This general, who afterwards became so famous, and with him......several commanders of high distinction.... with these....Abdulsamed Khãn who waited only for a train of artillery, proceeded to Lahore....On coming up with the enemy, the troops fell with such fury upon those barbarians that they completely crushed them; nor did the imperialists give over the pursuit until they had entirely pursued the enemy. Bandã stood his ground at first, and fought desperately; for although beaten and vigorously pursued, he retired from post to post, like a savage of the wilderness, and while losing his own men, he occasioned heavy loss to his pursuers. At last, worn out by incessant flight, he retired to Goordãspoor....The imperial general laid siege to this place; nor was it furnished with provision, though the multitudes that had successively retired thither were so considerable. The besiegers, however, were so vigilant that not a blade of grass nor a grain of corn could find its way into the fort; so that at last, the magazines within being exhausted, a famine commenced its ravage among the besieged, who (contrary to the prejudices of their religion) ate asses, horses, and even oxen; and such was the desperate resolution of the garrison, that no one talked of submission, till having consumed all that could be converted into food and having suffered from a bloody flux that broke out among them, the survivors asked for quarter, and offered to open their gates. The imperial general required them to repair to an eminence where they were called on to deposit their arms. The famished wretches, reduced to comply with these conditions, conformed to it, when, having been bound hand and foot, they were made over to the troops, who had orders to carry them close to a river that ran under the walls, and therein to throw the bodies, after having beheaded the prisoners. The officers being put in irons, were mounted upon lame, worn-down, mangy asses and camels, with each of them a paper cap upon his head, and with such a retinue the general entered the city of Lahore in triumph ......Amongst the prisoners was Bandã, with his face smeared with black, and a woollen cap placed on his head. The wretch having been brought before the emperor, was ordered to the castle, where he was shut up with his son, and two or three of his chief commanders. The others were carried (a hundred every day) to the town-hall, where they were beheaded until the whole number of them was completed. *What is singular, these people not only behaved patiently during the execution, but they contended for the honour of being first executed.*

Bandã's execution.

'At length Bandã himself was produced, and his son being placed on his lap, the father was ordered to cut his throat, *which he did without uttering one word.* His flesh was then ordered to be torn

off with red-hot pincers, and it was in those torments that he expired, expiating by his death, *in some measure,* the enormities he had himself committed on the people of God.

'Mahommed Amin-Khān, struck with the appearance of Bandā, could not help addressing him: "It is surprising that one who shows so much acuteness in his countenance, and has displayed so much ability in his conduct, should have been guilty of such horrid crimes, that must infallibly ruin him in this world as well as in the next." *With the greatest composure he replied,* "I will tell you what, my lord, *whenever men become so corrupt and wicked, as to relinquish the path of equity, and to abandon themselves to all kinds of excesses, then Providence never fails to raise up a scourge like me, to chastise a race become so depraved;* but when the measure of punishment has been filled, then he raises such a man as you, to bring him to punishment."[1]

V. CONCLUSION

Bahādur Shāh's was the last reign that is reminiscent of the glories of the Great Mughals; after him came the Nightfall of the Empire and the rule of 'her sister chaos.' The reign was short, lasting only about five years (4 years and 2 months, according to Khāfī Khān),[2] but in foreign relations it was marked by a statesmanship greater than his father's. His treatment of the Rajputs and the Marathas was certainly wiser than that of Aurangzeb. He had won over Guru Govind, as Aurangzeb might have Shivāji, if he had been wiser. It is vain to speculate how he would have treated Bandā if he had been really captured. But then the effects of growing senility were already visible.[3] Otherwise Shāh Alam's rule was marked by a sanity and liberalism not unworthy of a descendant of the great Akbar. But these traits, unfortunately, were leaning on the side of weakness with the increasing weight of years, until 'about the 20th *Muharram*, 1123 (Feb. 18, 1711 A.D.)[4] when the Emperor had passed his 70th lunar year, there was a great change

1. *Siyār-ul-mutākherin*, pp. 76-80.
2. Khāfī Khān, op. cit., p. 428. See n. 1, next p.
3. His alleged orders to kill all the dogs in his camp, to shave all the Hindus, and cage the impostor Bandā and the Barfī Rāja, are all indications of this.
4. See E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 428 n. The *Tarikh-i Chaghatai* and *Siyār-ul-Mutakherin* make it 1124 H., giving Bahādur Shāh a lease of one more year. Irvine prefers the latter date.—Irvine, op. cit., p. 133.

perceptible in him, and in 24 hours it was evident that he was marked for death....On the night of the 8th of the month (?) the Emperor, died,[1] and was buried near the tomb of Kutbu-d din, four or five *kos* from Delhi. He had reigned four years and two months. At the end of the four years the treasure of thirteen *lacs* of rupees, to which he succeeded, had all been given away. The income of the Empire during his reign was insufficient to meet the expenses, and consequently there was great parsimony shown in the Government establishments, but especially in the royal household, so much so that money was received every day from the treasure of Prince Azimu-sh Shān to keep things going.'[2]

Able Officers.

Bahādur Shāh had under him some able officers who would have made a mark in any age. Foremost among these was the prime-minister Munim Khān, whose services in the war of succession have already been recounted. Khāfī Khān says, 'He was a man inclined to Sufism, and was a friend to the poor. During all the time of his power he gave to no one.'[3] He died in the same year as Bahādur Shāh, in consequence of the treatment he received for his failure to capture Banda. Iradat Khān records, 'He lost all satisfaction in worldly enjoyments, the emptiness of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace declined in health, so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death (1124 A.H., 1712 A.D.), who never in the uncounted ages of his office seized on *a soul more pure and less defiled with the frailties of human nature.*'[4]

Of like reputation and standing was Ghaziu-d din Khān Firoz Jang, 'who had acquired a most powerful influence in the Dakhin, and was chief of the Turāni Mughals....He was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly per-

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1. Iradat Khān gives the date of the Emperor's death as 21st Muharram (112 A.H. A.D.) 18th Feb. 1712—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 556.
2. Khāfī Khān, op. cit., 428-29.
3. Ibid., p. 425. 'But,' as the same chronicler observes, 'the best intentions are perverted into wrong deeds. Munim Khān was ambitious to build *sarais* and mosques in every city. The execution of this scheme involved forcible acquisition of private property. 'Numbers of Musulmans, *Saiyids* and Hindus were thus driven, sighing and cursing, out of their old homes, as it happened at Burhānpur and at Surat.'—Ibid., pp. 425-26.
4. Ibid., p. 556.

ceive the mind of man.'[1] Khāfī Khān also speaks in equal praise of him : 'Gaziu-d din Khān,' he says, 'was a man born to victory, and a disciplinarian who always prevailed over his enemy. A nobleman of such rank and power, and yet so gentle and pleasant spoken, has rarely been seen or heard of among the men of Turān.[2] From the Deccan, when Zu-l fikar Khān took charge of that province, Ghāziu-d din was transferred to Ahmedabad, where his death occurred. He is to be remembered especially as the father of his more famous son, Chinkillich Khān, the future Nizāmu-l Mulk and founder of the present Haidarābād State.

The *Siyār-ul Mutākherin* gives a good account of the other important nobles, and also of how the Emperor's good nature was carried to the length of absurdity. 'Zul-ficar Khān, the generalissimo, was honoured with the title and office of Amīr-ul-omrah, and appointed viceroy of the Deckan, comprehending all the provinces already conquered or to be conquered hereafter. This was a charge of vast importance, for which he was eminently qualified, for no other man at that time would have been able to rule countries so newly conquered and so refractory. The new viceroy, after having settled in his mind the military and financial affairs of his Government, returned to court ; having left as his lieutenant an Afghan nobleman, called Dāud-Khān Peni, a man famed in those countries for his riches, his bodily strength, and his personal prowess ; and who had rendered himself of so much importance, that there were no noblemen in (the Deckan) who could be compared with him. He was made the director of all political affairs, as also of the finance department, with full liberty to undertake any military expedition which he should deem advisable. Zu-l fikar Khān, after having eased his mind of so great a burthen, went to Court, where he applied himself sedulously in aiding to introduce order through every part of the empire.

'The provinces of Bengal, Orissa, Azimābād (Patna) and Ilahābād, had hitherto been governed by Azīm-ush-shān, the emperor's second son, and it was thought politic to continue those countries under the same administration ; an arrangement which put it in that prince's power to reward two illustrious nobles who had rendered him many important services, and had distinguished themselves in the great battle of Acberābād, (Jajau). These were Seid Abdul-Khān and Seid Hussein Ali-Khān,[3] sons of the famous Seid Abdullah-Khān, so much revered at Ajmer under the name of Mia-Khān. On the elder, Abdullah-Khān he conferred the Government of Ilahābād ; and he gave that of Azimābād (Patna) to the younger, Hussein-Ali-Khān. At the same time Jafer-Khān was entrusted with the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, in which

1. Ibid., p. 533.
2. Ibid., p. 427.
3. There were the famous *Saiyad Brothers* who were soon to play the rôle of King-makers.

he had hitherto acted as minister of finance. After these arrangements, the prince took up his residence at his father's court where he exercised great influence.'[1]

Bahādur Shāh's Weakness.

The services of these able men were unfortunately neutralised by Bahādur Shāh's very good nature. 'The emperor, who was exceedingly good-natured,' continues the same writer, 'and mild even to a fault, having remembered a vow which he had once made to the Creator of all things, that if ever he should ascend the throne he would never deny any man's request, now wanted to act up to the letter of this vow: accordingly, dignities, titles, and employments were lavished so indiscriminately, that they lost much of their value, and ceased to be deemed marks of honour or distinction.'[2]

The Khutba Riot.

Bahādur Shāh, like his prime-minister Munim Khān, had strong Shia inclinations. The effect of these on the vast masses of the Sunni populace are indicated by an incident thus described by Khāfī Khān :—

'The insertion of the word *wasi* in the *khutba* had given great offence to the religious leaders of Lahore, and the order for it (issued by Bahādur Shāh) had remained a dead letter. An order was now given that these religious men should be brought into the royal presence. Haji Yār Mahammad.....and three or four other learned men of repute, waited upon His Majesty in the oratory. They were told to be seated....After much disputation Haji Yār Muhammad grew warm in replying to the Emperor, and spoke in a presumptuous, unseemly manner. The Emperor got angry, and asked him if he was not afraid to speak in this bold and unmannerly way in the audience of a King. The Hāji replied, "I hope for four things from my bounteous Creator. 1. Acquisition of knowledge. 2. Preservation of the Word of God. 3. The Pilgrimage. 4. Martyrdom. Thanks be to God that of His bounty enjoy the first three. Martyrdom remains, and I am hopeful thus by the kindness of the just King I may obtain that." The disputation went on for several days. A great many of the inhabitants of the city, in agreement with a party of Afghans, formed a league of more than hundred thousand persons, who secretly supported Haji Yār Muhammad. Prince Azimu-sh shan also secretly gave

1. *Siyār-ul-Mutākherin*, pp. 14-15 (Briggs).

2. 'For example, says Ghulam Husain, 'one of the dog-keepers, who applied for a title, was honoured with that distinction by the King's own private order....and he accordingly became known hereafter by the title of Lord Dog-keeper to the great astonishment of the world, and was pointed at as he passed through the streets, people saying to each other, "There goes my Lord Dog-keeper," till at length he was induced to give money to people to refrain from molesting him on the highway, but it had little effect.'—Ibid., pp. 15-16.

his countenance to this party. At the end of *Shawwāl*, the *Sadar* presented a petition on the subject of the *khutba*, and on this His Majesty wrote with his own hand that the *khutba* should be read in the form used during the reign of Aurangzeb.....After this the agitation ceased, but I have heard that Haji Yār Muhammad and two other learned men, whom the Emperor was angry with, were sent to one of the fortresses.'[1] Riots had been caused at Ahmedabad and elsewhere by the attempt to recite the new form of prayer.[2]

The Christians.

Bahādur Shāh's attitude towards the Christians and Europeans was in keeping with his liberal outlook in all other matters. Even under Aurangzeb, despite his fanaticism, the Europeans had not suffered *per se* on account of their religion. "As the enemy of Dārā and as a Muslim of the Muslims" observes Maclagan, "it was unlikely that Aurangzeb would display any personal interest in Christianity. *Apart from this, the change of sovereign entailed no immediate change in the position which the Jesuits occupied at Court.*"[3] Besides, several of the great nobles maintained friendly relations with the Jesuits. For example, when an unfair decree was given depriving the Jesuits of the estate of a deceased Father, they were enabled by Ja'far Khān's help to obtain a reversal of the order from the King.[4] But after the death of Father Busi (1667), owing to the increasing rigour of Aurangzeb's religious policy in general, there was a nearly complete cessation of the proselytizing activities of the Fathers.

When the *jiziya* was imposed upon all non-Muslims, in 1679, a representation was made by the Fathers. "Interviews were sought with influential men in the city, and the Jesuits supported their requests with presents of curiosities from Europe. Their efforts were so far successful that the tax at Agra, including arrears, was remitted by the local authorities, but in order to get the concession on a proper footing the Viceroy at Goa was urged to represent the matter to Aurangzeb himself." Father Magalhaens was deputed for the purpose, in 1686, and "the King acceded to his request that all Christians in the Empire should be exempted from the *jiziya*." Though this order was whittled down in practice by unsympathetic officers, the exemptions specified in particular cases were continued

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, 427-28.
2. Irvine op. cit., p. 130.
3. "When Aurangzeb, for instance, went to Kashmir, soon after his accession, he desired that Father Busi should accompany him."—Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moguls* p. 121.
4. Ibid., also for other examples.

by Bahādur Shāh on his accession in 1707. "Similar exemption was again granted by Farrukh-siyar in 1718 and by Muhammad Shāh in 1726 on the same ground, namely that the Fathers were Christian ascetics (*fuqrāl quam Isāi*). We have no record, however, of any confirmation of the general exemption of the Christian community."[1]

The Dutch Embassy, 1711-12.

Here we might also allude, though briefly, to the embassy that was sent to the Court of Bahādur Shāh, in 1711, by the Dutch East India Company at Surat. Though this mission in the end proved futile, owing to the shifting of political quicksands, a reference to it is necessary for the very interesting part played under the Later Mughals by the Christian lady Donna Juliana Dias da Costa. The embassy was held by John Jasua Ketelaar. Its grand reception must in part be attributed to the good offices of the lady referred to. She was the daughter of a Portuguese doctor in the service of Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shāh. After the death of her father, and her husband (who also seems to have held a similar office) Juliana continued to play an important rôle at the Mughal Court. She had served Bahādur Shāh well even as a Prince, especially during the period of his captivity. Now she was appointed governess of the *harem* and commanded influence both over the Emperor and his Court. "She was given the 'rank of 4000': she obtained 1000 rupees per month and was able to bestow a lakh of rupees on the Jesuit Mission at Delhi. She was given the house of Dārā Shikoh in that city, and the revenue of four villages in the neighbourhood. She had a following of five to six thousand people and two elephants carrying two standards with white crosses on a red ground. She was also given special titles which are variously recorded as 'Khānum,' 'Bibi,' and 'Fīdwi Du'āgo Juliana.'[2] The exemption from taxes above referred to, granted to Christians, were obtained 'by her powerful mediation.' She also gave strong support to the Portuguese interests during the period of her ascendancy, "especially to the Portuguese Embassy which was sent to the Mogul Court under Father José da Silva."

When the Dutch Embassy came "Donna Juliana sent word that the Emperor would admit the envoy and all the Europeans to

1. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moghuls*, pp. 123-24.
2. Ibid., p. 183.

audience as soon as he pleased......On the 20th (December 1711) Donna Juliana with some ladies of the Court visited them and inspected the presents. She had been preceded by a dinner of fifty dishes from the Emperor's table and after dinner she scented them with essence of roses and other rich perfumeries and presented betel covered with gold and silver leaf. On the 21st a dinner was sent on a small but massive golden table, having in the centre a large vessel for vegetables, and all round it holes containing small dishes filled with delicate food, such as were prepared for the Emperor himself."[1] Not until the 27th February 1712, however, was anything achieved in the nature of real business and the envoy was getting anxious "to leave that unhealthy climate" and return to Surat. But unfortunately, that very night the Emperor Bahādur Shāh fell ill and died the next day (28th February 1712). The rest of the story may be very briefly told : Donna Juliana wisely advised the embassy to take precautions for their safety, although most of their requests had been granted by the dying Emperor. "The Princes set their troops in motion and the roads to Lahore were rendered impassable by crowds of fugitives and their baggage." The next ruler, Jahāndar Shāh, no doubt, confirmed the grant of his father and wrote out a *farmān* addressed to Abraham van Riebeck, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies ; but before the close of 1712 he was defeated and killed by Farrukh-siyar and the dead bodies of the late Emperor and his Prime Minister were paraded through the streets of Delhi. "After that revolution Jahāndar Shāh's *farmāns* were so much waste paper, and his reign was blotted out from the records of the Empire."[2]

1. Irvine, op. cit., p. 149.
2. Ibid., pp. 156-157. For the rest of the story of Donna Juliana, up to her death in 1734, see Heras, "*Donna Juliana Dias Da Costa: Her Influence in Later Mughal History,*" in *The Bandra Review*, 1929, pp. 7-17.

